UNEARTHING COLLABORATION: COMMUNITY AND MULTIVOCAL ARCHAEOLOGY IN HIGHLAND GUATEMALA

BY

Anne E. Kraemer

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_____
Chairperson
Dr. John W. Hoopes

Committee members

_____
Dr. Jack Hofman

_____
Dr. Brent Metz

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The Thesis Committee for Anne E. Kraemer certifies
That this is the approved version of the following thesis:

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ABSTRACT

Anne E. Kraemer

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The *Proyecto Arqueológico Chocolá* in Chocolá, Guatemala had been successful for three seasons until the perception of archaeology among the community residents changed. The tranquil community comprised primarily of K'iche' Maya people that had once welcomed the archaeology project now forbade all archaeologists to enter the town for fear archaeologists with government support would steal their lands. When their livelihood, land and coffee, became threatened due to the archaeology site beneath their town the people defended their rights. This breakdown in multivocality, communication, and understanding is crucial to practicing archaeology in the modern world.

The Kaqchikel Maya of Tecpan, Guatemala are involved in their past and their future. The Organización del Consejo de Autoridades Ajq'ija' (Organization of Maya Priests) in Tecpan unites Maya priests to protect them, gain rights and respect in the government, and teach about battling discrimination. They are willing to work with archaeologists, as long as they are involved in every step of the project. The politically active Maya community has come together to form indigenous defense leagues and utilize the Kaqchikel and K'iche' languages to connect to a wider Maya and non-Maya context.

The archaeology project at Chocolá and ethnographic study in Tecpan are examples of the changing conditions archaeologists must face and prepare for in highland Guatemala and worldwide. Even an archaeology project that began with the best intentions can fail. Archaeologists can no longer only consider the excavation and material culture of the ancient past but now must consider the descendent communities and local communities living among and on the sites. Chocolá and Tecpan serve as a model for understanding multivocal and collaborative archaeology as well as the overall role of archaeology today. The overall aim is a collaborative project that incorporates indigenous, local, ethical, and archaeological voices to build a future with the local community. It is vital for archaeologists to understand and consistently utilize community archaeology in order to continue the profession of archaeology.

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Chapter 1
Introduction

"An aware, responsible and engaged global archaeology might be a relevant, positive force which recognizes and celebrates difference, diversity and *real* multivocality. Under common skies and before divided horizons, exposure to global difference and alterity prompts us all to seek responses and responsibility. In the process, knowledge and culture can be reworked, and with them, power and politics"
~Lynn Meskell 1998

Attempting to perform archaeology in the modern world is difficult and calls for a more sophisticated set of ethics and understanding of the power relationships and who can or should be in control. This thesis is a case study of archaeological research in two Guatemalan highland Maya communities, Tecpan and Chocolá. Tecpan is a community with a deep sense of Maya history and connection with the previously excavated site of Iximché, the ancient capital of the Kaqchikels. There is a culturally strong community of Maya priests who perform ceremonies at the site, many families visit Iximché for picnics and there is a strong political base for the Maya Movement. Chocolá is a K'iche' Maya community focused on coffee agriculture with more historical ties to the German coffee finca of the early 1900s than to the ancient Maya site under their town. The primarily Evangelical religious community does not identify with the Maya Movement or early Maya history and provides a valuable contrast with Tecpan. This thesis will compare and contrast the success of "community archaeology" in each towards the development of an ethic and methodology that strives to resolve current conflicts.

In 2003 Proyecto Arqueológico Chocolá began excavating the ancient Maya site of Chocolá and working with the community. This thesis investigates the

successes of the archaeology project, but primarily how and why the archaeology project ultimately failed. It also strives to understand how Maya Priests and others utilize archaeological sites as sacred places (worship space and places of power). Overall, this thesis attempts to understand the dynamic relationship between archaeologists and local communities, all which demonstrate the need for a more reflexive archaeology but more importantly a methodology for collaborative and multivocal archaeology.

In May of 2006, the Proyecto Arqueológico Chocolá (PACH) was stopped. The residents of the small Guatemalan community, mostly K'iche' Maya, protested the archaeology project because they believed the archaeologists were attempting to take their lands and unilaterally make decisions about their community. PACH was dedicated to community archaeology. It attempted community involvement through excavation and interpretation of artifacts as well as community development for education, a museum, and possible tourism. Despite the best intentions of the archaeology project, the vested interest of the community was lost. Without the support of the community, excavation became impossible because the archaeological site is located directly beneath the town. Excavation and reconnaissance required permission to enter corn fields, cow pastures, and even personal homestead property. Without the agreement of the community, the project could not continue.

However, in Tecpan Guatemala, the Kaqchikel ajq'ija' (Maya priests) started *El Consejo De Autoridades Ajq'ija'*, a group that strives to work with archaeologists and the government to protect and maintain a voice in archaeological and sacred sites.

The archaeological site of Iximché is located three kilometers from the town of Tecpan. The site, excavated in the 1960s, is now open to tourism and many Maya rituals. Tecpan has also served as a base for the political Maya Movement which seeks to defend and promote Maya rights and heritage. While there is no ongoing archaeological excavation, the community has taken interest in their past by collecting artifacts, opening a communal museum, and protecting artifacts as worship pieces.

Although both Chocolá and Tecpan are Maya communities, they each present a unique example of local and descendant communities and how archaeologists must collaborate within distinctly different local political situations even within one culture in order to conduct long term research projects.

Tecpan and Chocolá are identified on this political map of Guatemala. (Fig. 1)

Life in Guatemala

The countryside beneath us was mixed with volcanic crevice and gray urban sprawl, beautiful yet so foreign to everything I had flown over before. On December 31, 2003, I landed in Guatemala City after one semester of graduate study. Scared but excited beyond words, I whispered *matyox* (thank you) to my Kaqchikel[1] instructor Pakal Balam (Fisher and Hendrickson 2003, Friedel, Schele and Parker 1993: 23).

[1] Originally written as Cakchiquel, prior to language standardization by the Academy of Mayan Languages.

Pakal smiled, patted my shoulder and asked if I was ready to spend two weeks in his indigenous community of Tecpan. Walking off the plane, smells of wood smoke and urban smog hung in the air as I waited for my luggage and quickly passed through migration and into the throng of Guatemala City.

Just beyond the airport gates, amid hundreds of excited waiting family members, was my new family for the next two weeks: Ixchel, Pakal's wife, Dona Juana, Pakal's mother and Pakalito his two year old son. I hugged Doña Juana in her wheelchair. She grabbed my hands and, with tears running down her face and falling onto her worn *huipil,* she kissed my hands and cheek, then, patting my face with her worn palm that once served her as a tool to this expert weaver, she blessed me. Already overwhelmed, I received a welcome in a language I barely understood.
In a rush, we were in the van driven by two of Pakal's nephews toward the center of town. Picking up his other daughters, Ixkik (age 14), IxBalam (age 12), and his son C'ot (age 10), we then stopped for much needed food and drink at *Pollo Campero,* the KFC of Guatemala. Parked and eating in the car near 18th street in Zone 1, I spied the infamous "black market", where booths lined both sides of the street, filled with toothbrushes, t-shirts, jeans, CDs, DVDs and anything else a person might need. I watched people walk and carry their goods. The colorful women's clothing and the Western attire of jeans and t-shirts on the men demonstrated a clear dichotomy of cultures.

Refreshed, with eight of us piled in the van we departed for Tecpan, kilometer 90 on the PanAmerican Highway (Fisher and Hendrickson 2003). As we drove,

Ixchel explained her weekly schedule to me, that she attended school in Chimaltenango and worked on radio Iximché, broadcasting in Kaqchikel. Ixchel is just over five feet with the high heeled sandals she wore everyday. She is extremely smart and at the same time traditional: a motivated mother of a two year old.

Leaving the urban center was a pleasure as the mountains and volcanoes in the distance framed the patchworked agricultural fields of the highlands. The drop in temperature reflected the altitude as we drove higher. Through the department of Chimaltanango and its capital of the same name, along with smaller towns, I watched wide-eyed as we turned off the highway and into Tecpan (Iximché in Kaqchikel) (Guillemin 1967, Fisher and Hendrickson 2003, Nance, Whittington, and Borg 2003: 1), a central highland town located in the middle of Kaqchikel country. The front of Pakal's home, which faced the *Pa Taq Abäj* (the street/barrio name) (Fisher and Hendrickson 2003), was nicely painted in Santa Fe orange with three large Maya glyphs painted in black and an advertisement for *refacciones* (snacks). Inside their large home, I wandered in and out of the rooms, the central courtyard and into the kitchen. The woodburning stove had tamales and beans ready to celebrate the Western New Year that evening.

The next morning, Pakal took me to a room off the courtyard that had been kept closed. The room was not well lit, but to my amazement it contained hundreds of ancient Maya artifacts, lining shelves along each wall. In one corner was a statue of

Maximon[2] and in front of him were offerings of crackers, flowers, alcohol and a candle. As I picked up heavy stone carvings, fragile ceramics, and attempted to move the giant stone ball court markers, Pakal explained that he and his family had been collecting Maya artifacts for years. When neighbors or extended family uncovered ceramics, stone, or anything from the Maya past in Tecpan or surrounding areas, they would bring it to Pakal's house for safe keeping. The ultimate goal was to create a community museum for Kaqchikel and Spanish speakers, and operated and controlled by Maya. Overall, at least 200 pieces were in the collection, which Pakal hoped archaeologists could come and photograph, repair, and document each piece for the museum display. Many of the artifacts found in Pakal's collection would have come from Iximché or the time period in the 1400's when Iximché was at its height.

I began my work in Tecpan due to the Kaqchikel Maya living, working, and praying in close proximity of archeological sites. My goal was to understand if there was a lack of union between Mesoamerican archaeologists and indigenous peoples. In the past, some archaeologists have neglected to include Maya contributions in the excavation of Mesoamerican heritage. This has created an incomplete history and a lack of indigenous contribution with their own heritage. Visiting and studying the ancient cities of Iximche, Mixco Viejo, K'umarcaaj and the local altar sites of Kaq

[2] Maximon (also known as Maxuito or San Simon) is a "hybrid Judas figure celebrated (or rather reviled) on Good Friday" (Fisher and Hendrickson 2003: 72). Many saints' figures are found in private houses and churches in Guatemala, but Maximon is unique. Often Maximon is a wooden statue of a man that wears a suit and/or traditional Maya fabrics. Believers bring tobacco, alcohol, and small money offerings to leave with him. Often, on Good Friday Maximon is paraded through town, ceremonially hung and later burned. This saint is made anew each year and kept in private households for visitation (Fisher and Hendrickson 2003: 72).

Jay and Xe kojil were essential due to the wide historical influence of the sites, their location within the Maya communities, and interconnected histories.

The capstone was to tour these ancient cities with a Kaqchikel Maya guide to explain their knowledge and understanding of the sites and to interpret similarities between archaeological and modern Maya's interpretations of the ancient cities. I hoped this would generate a synthesis by discussing archaeology through the ethnographic lenses of the modern cultural representatives of these ancient places. Researching archaeological sites with local people would create the multivocal dialogue and could further our collective understanding between the contemporary and ancient Maya.

This dialogue began on an extremely rainy, gray day, when Pakal and I walked a few blocks to a small cement block home of Aq'ab'al, a young Kaqchikel priest. We went to visit this young priest in order to learn about his knowledge of archaeology and his outlook concerning collaboration with archaeologists. Aq'ab'al and his wife were very kind as they offered coffee and bread while we talked. The rain poured down and at times it was hard to hear over the noise from the corrugated tin roof. As the week continued I was able to meet two more Maya priests and understand their experiences and sentiments regarding archaeology.

Waykan welcomed us into his home. It was a place of considerable activity. His children ran through the yard, and part of his house served as a machine shop. He led us back into a small room that held his altar and served as a place to bring those who sought spiritual advice. His altar, a wooden table, was a mix of flowers, statues,

candles, crosses, ancient and recent artifacts such as carved stone figures, ceramic figures, and small ceramic vessels. He had me sit at the table and demonstrated the use of red divination beans that many Maya priests rely upon. Waykan, a motivated and politically involved Maya priest, provided great details on Maya life today.

Kaji' K'at, a Maya priest, artist and a very kind but quiet man, explained the spiritual meanings of the sacred altars of Kaq Jay and Xe Kojil that I had visited. He is also a very private man, keeping most of his supplies from his altar hidden. The experience of sitting in the priests' home, experiencing their mannerisms, and understanding their view of archaeology inspired me to find an archaeological excavation working in another Maya community.

This early fieldwork led me to the ongoing Proyecto Arqueológico Chocolá (PACH) in the Pacific coastal region. The project was dedicated to community archaeology and understanding the Preclassic Maya past of Chocolá. I arrived in Chocolá at the beginning of their second season of excavation, in May 2004, my goal was to investigate community archaeology.

The PACH kitchen was located an old German hotel built in the late 1800's. It was always a flurry of activity as Doña Maria and her three helpers raced around preparing three meals a day for thirty or more over a wood fired stove. A well respected K'iche' woman in her late sixties, she ran the show and everyone knew it. The first day I met her, I loved her, not only for her absolutely delicious everything made-from-scratch food, but for her unique perspective and knowledge of everything that was going on in Chocolá and having an opinion about it. We had a fast

friendship, with days sitting in the kitchen talking a lot about love, a little about the kitchen, and a lot about her K'iche' people. She corrected me when I spoke Kaqchikel words and not K'iche' and sadness enveloped her when she talked about how the young girls in town were not wearing *traje* (traditional Maya dress) anymore, but mostly only the *cortes* (skirts), and not the expensive *huipiles,*(women's woven blouses) because most residents in Chocolá were so poor. Yet, what I respected most about her was her domineering presence even though she was barely five feet tall and her overwhelmingly positive personality.

She spoke of the hard times, the times during "*La Violencia*"[3], and she would purse her lips and grow angry and then close her eyes, take a deep breath and speak of the positive, of her children, her family, and her cooking. Doña Maria explained her affiliation with PACH; that Dr. Valdés had sought her out because so many in the community recommended her. In the past she had cooked for the Project Boca Costa, which rebuilt the Chocolá water system in the early 1990s (David Melendez personal communication 2005), and often sold food out of her home to passersby, in the market, and to anyone who needed a meal.

Rogelio and his best friend Mario served as faithful, veteran workers for PACH. They were in charge. They came early, stayed late, came over on the weekends and taught the new workers. When I first met Rogelio he was quiet, but always greeted me and smiled, and set the example for everyone. Rogelio became a good friend over the years. Two of his sons, in their early twenties, Felix and

[3] 36 year civil war in Guatemala, primarily the state and army against several guerrilla groups.

Ronoldo, also worked for the project. During the summers of 2004 and 2005, Rojelio's son, Felix, constantly asked me about the United States. While I was screening dirt on Mound 15, Felix would bring me bucket after bucket of earth and ask me about getting to the United States, if jobs were available, or if I knew anyone, perhaps a coyote, at the border who could help him cross. The director of the project, Dr. Kaplan, had previously explained that we should not endorse crossing illegally into the United States as it is very dangerous and expensive. In the fall of 2005 I was informed that Felix had left for the United States. A month later, I received a phone call from Felix; he was safe in Florida.

Cruz, a town resident, archaeological worker, and good friend always had a smile and a joke ready. In reality, most of the projects workers were diligent, friendly and ready to learn. They arrived early, worked hard, and usually chatted and laughed all day. Laughter is a quality that is so deeply imbedded in this culture; the Maya people always seem to be engaged in laughter and small jokes.

Egidio is a man whose stoicism even the Greek Cicero would appreciate; he worked as a lumberjack for over 30 years, was quiet, private, rarely smiled, but worked hard and knew the forest like the back of his hand. I met Egidio while working on the reconnaissance and mapping team for PACH. Egidio rarely talked with the other men. While most of the workers chatted and told many jokes, Egidio stayed off to the side. I learned early in the 2004 season why Egidio stayed to himself and rarely smiled. He had been forcibly recruited into the army during the 1980s, in the heat of the civil war. Some, like Rogelio, ran off into the woods and were able to

escape, but Egidio was pressed into service in the Guatemalan military, or be killed. The tragedies he witnessed to people like himself made a lasting impression. Over time, Egidio began to trust and talk to me. By the third season on the project he talked more and even smiled a bit.

One of the most amazing talents the workers like Egidio, Rojelio, Cruz and others had was the ability to predict the weather. Almost daily, I would ask one of them what time it was going to rain today. They would pause, look towards the trees, the sky and ground and give me a time, and sure enough, usually within a ten minute window, the rain came or, on the days they said it would not come, it did not. These men knew the weather, knew their land, and their community.

Dona Cristina, a beautiful and tough woman who ran a small store in the main "downtown" of Chocolá, was fantastic to talk with. Cristina with her long black hair and piercing brown eyes would uncap a Tiki pineapple soda for me, lean on the counter and tell me how it was to have a husband in the United States that she rarely heard from as she took care of her three kids and the store. She was young in body, but her face and spirit revealed a difficult life that aged many in Chocolá too fast. The archaeology of human lives, uncovered layer by layer over sodas, coffee, or beer demonstrated the true importance of this archaeology project to the community; it provided some hope. She, like Felix, knew all too well the allure of the promise land to the north, an ever encroaching reality as I heard more and more stories similar to hers.

Why Collaborative Archaeology

When the *Proyecto Arqueológico Chocolá* was forced to end in May 2006 because the community of Chocolá no longer wanted archaeologists or archaeological excavation to continue, the extreme need for a methodology of community archaeology was brought to the forefront. The community's outright protest against archaeology stemmed from concerns that their interests were no longer being cared for and they could loose control over their land and community. It demonstrated a fault in the attempted multivocality. Meanwhile, in Tecpan Guatemala, Maya priests started *El Consejo De Autoridades Ajq'ija'*, a group that strives to work with archaeologists and the government to protect and maintain a voice in archaeological and sacred sites. It is evident that the Maya in Guatemala have a strong interest in their heritage and their communities in regards to archaeology. Yet, two different communities are reacting differently to archaeology. Through utilizing collaborative archaeology, archaeologists and communities become mutually interdependent and supportive stakeholders in archaeology and the past, but the results are not always predictable.

Archaeology can provide a past for those who do not have one, and locate hidden cities. Yet, it also plays a demanding political role. Indigenous peoples or descendant communities have recently become active players in their own histories and futures. Some examples are, Kennewick Man in Washington State (Thomas 2000, Chatters 2001), Kow Swamp Pleistocene Burials in Australia (Mulvaney 1991), the Museum of the American Indian in Washington D.C. (2006) and Chocolá. Local

communities, archaeologists, and governments are all actors who have a stake in history, past culture, identity, ancestors, and way of life that are uncovered in archaeology. By understanding the positions of these three actors, we create a context for the future of archaeology. Archaeology for too long has worked *alongside* descendant and local communities rather then *with* them, and in general has investigated sites only with federal or state approval, without asking the descendant and local communities as well as the legal landowners and government authorities permission to excavate. Archaeologists are increasingly aware that "community involvement and public interpretation has become increasingly important in federal legislation related to archaeology," such as demonstrated in the United States with the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) (Shackel 2003: 5). Even with legislation, it is only recently that archaeologists and native communities have begun communicating and working well together (Hunter 2004:160).

Many scholars have spent their lives increasing world knowledge of the ancient Maya. Over the years, errors and mistakes were part of the learning experience. Now archaeologists work with these lessons to better the field. In the past, many archaeologists neglected to include Mesoamerican indigenous peoples in the excavation and interpretation of Mesoamerican heritage. At times this has resulted in the pre-mature termination of archaeological projects, such as in Chocolá. Mesoamerican archaeology is changing and developing to face such challenges as these by incorporating these communities (see Bawaya 2005, Ford 2004). The union

of archaeology and indigenous peoples is vital aspect to creating holistic documentation and interpretation of Mesoamerican cultures and continuity of archaeological excavations.

There is now "an increasing number of archaeologists that are committed to the idea that communities have a sense of their own past and they want to be part of the decision –making process regarding their own heritage development" (Shackel 2003: 2). The contemporary Maya people want involvement in the archaeology of their ancestors. Even though the term "Maya" itself is unable to encompass the true breadth of the diversity of Maya people who speak over thirty- one different languages, it serves as a public and academic label that many outsiders can understand (Montejo 2005, Campbell and Kaufman 1985).

A promising future for indigenous or descendant communities is possible through *collaborative archaeology*. The term "collaborative" is preferred over community because the definition of community varies widely. For example, the Maya community is a broad and highly differentiated category. Is it the Maya of Guatemala, or of Mexico? Is it highland or lowland Maya? It is a religious community or linguistic community? Is there one Maya community or many? Collaborative, however, by definition requires working together. It implies compromise and information transferring among groups. Therefore, in using collaborative archaeology, this implies working with the local and descendant communities of an area whether they are African-American, aborigine, Anglo-American or Mayan, such as K'iche', Kaqchikel, Mam, or Qeqchi.

To avoid unclear reference or jargon, the specific terms that create this methodology need to be defined. Collaboration is defined as working, together especially in a joint effort that involves two or more groups. A community is a group of people living in the same locality and under the same government as well as a group of people having common interests. Indigenous or descendant communities and stakeholders are those communities or people that **live in** the area and commonly are related to the ruins or skeletal remains found in the area (Ardren 2002: 390).

The role of archaeology is changing. Robert Kelly (1998), utilizing the wisdom of Wiley and Phillips' 1958 phrase says, "archaeology will become applied anthropology or it will become nothing". Currently, applied archaeology is finding its place in heritage tourism, oral history, public outreach and education (see Downum, Price, and Source 1999; Gunn l978; Pyburn and Wilk 1995; Staski and Marks 1992). These inroads into archaeology will help to bring the understanding of the past and present communities together. How can archaeologists, utilizing sociocultural anthropology and applied anthropology, work to empower local communities and balance the other goals of archaeology? This is the serious question archaeology needs to address. As cultural identity is debated worldwide, archaeology serves at the brink of being marginalized or usable and central to such debates as archaeologists serve in the role of "diplomats, the middlemen in an intellectual and political conversation" (Kelly 2003: vii).

Applied archaeology can be translated into studying the garbage of humans. The Garbage Project of the University of Arizona has created an important twist on

archaeology (Rathje 2001). Such archaeology can and should influence issues of public policy concerning waste disposal, management and recycling. The Garbage Projects excavations of landfills in the United States have uncovered many interesting facts about our current and recent past society through out waste (Rathje 2001). Archaeology is not just a past time for those in search of antiquities but an active player in the weaving of our identities. All humans assign meaning to material culture. It is within this unique aspect of human nature that worldviews collide and from which collaboration can emerge.

Archaeology has the potential to also hurt, judge, and damage living peoples. "Once the archaeologist produces an interpretation of the past that knowledge has a political life of its own" and throughout the world this idea visibly displays itself (Castaneda 1996: 24). Many people (archaeologists, historians, interest groups, governments) worldwide publish interpretations and information about historical sites and people or events this information can become or be seen as the only true or fact possible for many histories and archaeological sites. Archaeologists are beginning to realize that "archaeology is more then implementing scientific methods to collect and interpret data" (Shackel 2003: 2), it is not just the "excavation of a site, but the excavation of a conscience" (Kelly 2003: vii). Archaeology has an impact on living societies and an increasing number of professional archaeologists realize that working with descendant and local communities is necessary. As a result collaborative based archaeology programs have increased (Derry and Malloy 2003, Sidler 1997, Watkins

2001 and Dongoske 2000). It is through the collaboration of a multivocal past that archaeology as a profession can be preserved and in fact develop and flourish.

This thesis focuses upon indigenous and descendant communities, specifically Guatemalan Maya communities. The attempt is to outline a framework for collaborative archaeologies and why they are needed. Utilizing case studies from two locations in Guatemala, I will demonstrate a methodological model that can be employed by archaeologies in Guatemala and possibly worldwide. This method, written as a framework of collaborative archaeology, is a wholehearted attempt to put theory into action.

Guatemala and The Maya

"*El que persiste*" (the one that persists) is displayed on faded computer printer paper, the kind from a dot matrix printer with tattered edges, hung on the washed out yellow cement block wall inside a dark room of ADSEIC (Asociación de Desarrollo Servicio y Educación Integral Comunitaria) . ADSEIC is a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) in Tecpan dedicated to caring for family health care. The cool morning allowed for relaxing in the shadows on the few wooden desk chairs in the nearly empty room as dust swirled in the rays of sunlight streaming through the typical Central American metal door. Lightly listening to a friend interview the director of the NGO, the quote on the wall inspired many thoughts about the Maya. Even after more than five hundred years of outside influence, the Maya possess an identity that seems to have tenaciously persisted. Kaqchikel words float through the small glassless window in the door; the Maya have maintained an identity different

from that of the surrounding Ladinos. Wearing bright colored *p'ot* (huipil) and *uq* (skirt), the women persist as the keepers of the culture, passing language, dress and ritual to the next generation (Hendrickson 1995).

Southern Mexico, Guatemala, Belize, and Honduras are home to the descendants of the builders of archaeological wonders. Currently, seven and a half million Maya still live in this area and have for over 3000 years (Sharer 1996:1, Coe 1999: 230). The Maya are not just an ancient culture that created massive temples and creative writing systems. Currently in Guatemala alone, there are 23 different languages with K'iche, Mam, Kaqchikel, and Q'eqchi as the four largest languages in Guatemala. There are between 350,000 and one million speakers in each of these four languages (Warren and Jackson 2001: 13, England 1993:100). Colonialism forever changed the life ways of many people and for over five hundred years, Maya have resisted the Spanish and Ladinos destroying their autonomy (Carey 2001:40). Over the last few decades, the Maya have faced horrible situations during the thirty-six-year civil war, but are now discovering activism (Montejo 2005). As a part of their effort, they are focusing on their language, culture, and past in order to cement their identity (Warren 1998). The lasting strength and will to survive is apparent for some members of the contemporary Maya have formed a Pan-Mayan movement.

The Pan-Mayan movement is currently working to revitalize Maya culture (Montejo 2005, Warren and Jackson 2001). Indigenous language "has been embraced to emphasize cultural uniqueness, prehispanic origins, and the unity within diversity that is crucial to the revitalization efforts" (Warren 2001:160). By renaming

themselves and the world in Mayan languages, Pan-Mayanists create continuity that is different from Europe and America (Warren and Jackson 2001).

Long-range goals of the movement are to produce modernized versions of their chronicles in their own language and to disseminate Spanish translations that will reach wider audiences (Warren and Jackson 2001:149). Mayanists hope that the "ideology of unity within diversity will bring Maya peoples powerfully into the mainstream to readdress Guatemala's serious development dilemmas" (Warren and Jackson 2001:13). With a strong contemporary society, the Maya are not just ancient people. Oppressed and misunderstood for centuries, anthropological archaeology should be a part of this change. It can participate in the recovery and preservation of valuable portions of their heritage. However, not every Maya community is part of the Pan-Mayan movement.

The "cultural renaissance" of the Pan-Mayan movement demonstrates how Maya culture can be found on a "macro-Maya" cultural level (Montejo 2005: 17). These cultural patterns are shared throughout the Maya region and demonstrate the influences from the Olmec and Izapa cultures. The ancient and present Mesoamericans share the deep principals of cyclical time and space as well as the symbols of their people (Gossen 1986: ix). To best understand Mesoamerica, it is necessary to borrow Geertz's paraphrase of Max Weber, 'Mesoamericans past and present have lived their lives suspended in webs of significance, which they themselves have spun' (Gossen 1986: 1). Montejo (2005) explains that even though the Maya have many languages and have diversified over the last 3000 years, they

continue on a macrolevel to have a shared culture in which cotraditions have developed. Schele, Friedel and Parker (1993) agree ancient cosmology strongly links to the modern Maya cosmology, enforcing the integrity and continuity or Maya thought over thousands of years. However, these anthropologists also affect this continuity through their own research and interaction with the communities.

The 1996 United Nations Peace Accords (UN 1998) for Guatemala first recognized the value and current importance of temples and ceremonial centers as part of the Maya heritage. The Guatemalan Constitution then recognized temples and ceremonial centers as archaeological value and a part of the national cultural heritage. The rights of the Maya, Garifuna and Xinca are recognized, so they may participate in the conservation and administration of these places. The government also said it will take legal responsibility to make these rights effective. In addition, the rights of spirituality at ceremonial centers are respected and free to practice (UN 1998:67-68). These three mandates are needed, however they are not enforced.

In Guatemala, no official permission is required from the Maya people to excavate at an archaeological site. According to the Guatemalan Instituto de Antropologia y Historia (IDEAH), the official government institute that is responsible for native and colonial history, ethnography, and archaeology of Guatemala only permission from the Guatemalan government is needed to begin. One must have permission from private landowners as well but there is never any involvement of indigenous or descendant communities. IDEAH is dedicated to “preserving

Guatemalan heritage" (IDEAH) and mandates that archaeology projects must be co-run and co-staffed by Guatemalans. Yet, there is no mention of the Maya.

The United Nations publicized the needs and rights of indigenous peoples of Guatemala and bring back their dignity. Archaeology, as a unit of anthropology should respect the living people as much as we do the ancient (e.g. Childe 1925,1942; Fowler 1987; Trigger 1986; Wood and Powell 1993; Zimmerman 1995). Archaeology is not entirely at fault for not including indigenous contributions at archaeology sites, but in order for archaeology to remain a respected and honored profession with high ethical standards, I believe it is important for archaeology to evolve. This should also include evolving in the training archaeologists receive.

Archaeologists in general have used Maya language poorly in naming and describing sites and features. However, this also is changing. Anthropological archaeology as a profession can help to create a holistic identity of the Maya. A model of collaboration introduced by Anabel Ford (2004) provides insight to the possibilities of what can be accomplished. Collaboration between archaeology and indigenous Maya is an achievable goal that will benefit the field of Mesoamerican studies

It is up to American archaeologists, when working in foreign countries, to uphold the same ethical obligations (see Appendices 1-4) they have when working in the United States. The United States has created rights and respect for the Native Americans in response to the actions of the Native Americans. NAGPRA, created in 1990, honored the needs and requests of Native Americans in an ethical and legal

manner (Watkins 2003: 135). Some archaeologists are frustrated with the limitations the law places on the excavation of Native American burials and the study of materials from them. Yet, this is modern archaeology; we must work with the living in order to study the dead.

It is beneficial for archaeology in Latin America to be on the defensive. Beginning to include the indigenous and local communities in their cultural heritage and creating a collaborative effort to maintain archaeology will strengthen the Mesoamerican archaeological record. As Western archaeologists working in these countries, we are collaborators with the 'dominant political system'. Therefore, it should not be a surprise that the indigenous groups like the Maya, which have been burdened by colonialism, strongly connect to their pre-colonial heritage, to try to maintain their unique identity (Layton 1989: 18). As archaeologists interested in the preservation of history and culture, we should know to respect this and strive to defuse the perception of a colonial, imposing nature. Two of the issues archaeologists need to confront are: 1) the "various aspects of cultural heritage, that is, who owns the past, who manages the past, and who has the right to tell the stories about the past" (Hunter 2004:160), and 2) to go beyond "archaeologists writing about archaeology for archaeologists" we need engagement in the practical issues of our interpretations, heritage management laws and the increasing demands and power of descendent communities (Smith 1994:301).

Archaeologists are "beginning to recognize that many histories can exist in any one place and these stories of the past are continually being shaped and

reconstructed" (Shackle 2003: 2). Discussing archaeology with the local cultures that claim heritage to the ancient cities will generate the multivocal reality of history. Researching archaeological sites with local people will create a better understanding of the contemporary and ancient Maya.

It is important to recognize the distinguished history of Mesoamerican archaeology. Great discoveries such as the decipherment of the Maya glyphs, interpretations of their everyday lifestyles, and conclusions of their downfall have greatly contributed to world history and knowledge. Originally, the interest in the Maya was the mysterious, ancient monumental cities that were home to an intelligent group of people who maintained calendars and deep mathematics. At this moment we must help the popular society of America and archaeology realize the Maya are a contemporary people dynamically involved in their heritage.

The specific aspects of local involvement however are ambiguous and raise many technical and political issues. The process of how to develop relations with local communities takes form in the involvement with national and international government bodies. Many external issues of engagement are involved on how to relate local and scientific knowledge together. It is here that archaeologists working in an applied manner can weave academic archaeology with problem solving of real world issues (Shackel 2003: 9). Not everyone is open to these forward ideas because often "community participation means that scientists are no longer the cultural brokers" (Shackel 2003: 2). In order to adapt to changing relationships, archaeology should be on the forefront and not focus on the information that can be lost because of

local, indigenous, or descendant control, but the increased amount of knowledge and information that could be gained through collaboration.

Archaeology performed for the benefit of science and the local people is ideal but linking the praxis of theory and method is a challenge. However, it can be beneficial to create an archaeological excavation performed with the history, knowledge, and resources of anthropology and the indigenous community. Acknowledging the current Maya populations regard for archaeology of their heritage would be a significant contribution to Mesoamerican culture and study.

Chapter 2
Related Research

Collaborative archaeology is an opportunity for the archaeology of the future. As the modern world changes, archaeologists must to adapt. There is a large base of related research to archaeologically working with indigenous communities, disenfranchised communities, and minorities. This look at related research attempts to first review the Mesoamerican archaeological literature. Next is a small discussion of codes of ethics and how to utilize them in our work as archaeology, which is followed by a synthesis of important texts and particular methods based on community or collaborative archaeologies. Lastly, negative examples of community or nationalistic archaeologies are examined to pinpoint the problems when there are many stories of the past. Overall, it is an attempt to gather multiple viewpoints in order to synthesize a methodology of collaborative archaeology for Guatemala. The review of literature focuses primarily on the methodology for each case study rather than an encompassing overview of each project. However, in certain regions, a specific methodology has not been established, but rather attempts at working together are beginning, these are projects taking the first steps in a difficult process.

Archaeology in Mesoamerica

The archaeology of Mesoamerica has attracted tourists worldwide to behold the mysterious Maya among others. Shrouded in adventure, mystery, and fantastic artifacts, archaeology for the layperson is Indiana Jones in action. As archaeology grew into a profession and became a serious vocation for many, Mexico and Central America were a hive of action in the search of lost cities. Large ancient cities like

Chichen Itza, Tikal, Copan, and Palenque encompass the idea of the mysterious Maya idea which developed due to these cities splendor, hieroglyphs, and stelea (Castaneda 1996:141).

In the 19th century an intrepid explorer, John Lloyd Stephens, exclaimed, "all was mystery, dark, impenetrable mystery, and every circumstance increased it" (Stuart 1992:30, Stephens 1949). Stephens and his partner Fredrick Catherwood explored the Mexican and Central American frontier discovering 'lost' Maya ruins and sketching their beauty. They intrigued the United States with stories of immense splendid cities covered by the tropical forest (Stuart 1992: 30, Coe and Van Stone 2001:7, Stephens 1949). The Western world viewed this great civilization as a mysterious marvel that disappeared into the jungle and needed investigation and interpretation. These ideas only intensified with the inability to read the detailed hieroglyphics written across Maya temples, structures, and stele.

The mystery created a vacuum for archaeology to thrive. Many scholars wanted to crack the Maya code and unravel the strange beauty. Several periods of research occurred throughout Maya archaeology. The Early Period (1838-1923) of research consisted of discovery and documentation; teams of scholars traversed the Maya countryside to collect notes on sites, temples, and religious centers (Becker 1976: 4). Expert archaeologists such as Tozzer investigated Tikal for the Peabody Museum in 1911. As information overwhelmed archaeologists, the Middle Period of Research (1924-1945) evolved. Excavation was now the primary focus and the Carnegie Institution of Washington created integrated field methods for the

archaeologists. Two schools of thought were surfacing during this time, one led by Sylvanus G. Morley who believed all Maya centers were cities based on social structure. J.E.S. Thompson pioneered the opposing theory; the cities were a religious ceremonial center, not places of habitation (Thompson 1954, Morley 1947, Becker 1976: 8, Castaneda 1996:142).

Thompson's proposal of the "priest-peasant hypotheses" was the basis for his literary works in support of the "ceremonial center" design. Quickly raising into popular literature the ceremonial center paralleled the thinking of the times. In the early 1900's, Atlantis was raved as the home of the Maya who created ceremonial centers all over Middle America (Thompson 1954, Becker 1976: 11-12). Yet, problems persisted in his theory; Thompson did not provide archaeological evidence. The capriciousness of this action led ethnographic researcher C. Wagley to draw wrong conclusions while working in Santiago, Chimaltenango. Wagley made interpretations of the Santiago village based on Thompson's published but unsupported theory (but also really only available resource) that Maya cities were only political, economic, and ritual centers. Wagley believing this concluded that Chimaltenango was different from other Maya centers because the inhabitants resided in the village center, they did not just use it as a place of ritual (Becker 1976:10). This occurrence created biases with ethnographers, which led many to interpret archaeology themselves or refrain from using archaeological data within ethnographic work. Thompson created a model of the Maya as a mysterious ritual people, and in many cases, this model still exists (Becker 1976:15).

New approaches towards the archaeology of the Maya civilization began with the Transitional Period (1946-1954). This era increased the role of university-based research combined with anthropological cultural theorists (Becker 1976: 15). A.V. Kidder (1947) and G. W. Brainerd (1954) focused on the complexity of ancient Maya civilization. Using Morley's (1946) ideas as a basis they combined archaeological data and anthropological analysis in order to grapple with the complex issues of Maya archaeology. *The Maya Civilization* (1954) written by Brainerd is the seminal work of this period. Opening important avenues into settlement pattern and social classes of the Maya, Brainerd cleared a path into the future (Becker 1976: 15).

The union of anthropological theory and archaeological data created models of the ancient Maya. As fresh ideas sprang forth, Thompson's ceremonial center faded from professional archaeology (Becker 1976: 19). Importantly, Michael D. Coe commented that archaeology does not lend itself to popular theory and ideas (Becker 1976: 19). As Coe related the, "age of Thompson" was a fifty-year hiatus into error (Coe 1992 in Castaneda 1996:142). The research of the 1970's focused on variations found within Classic Maya sites, organization, and the collapse of the ancient Maya (Becker 1976: 19-20). Misplaced for fifty yeas of error, the new realm of thinking aligned itself greatly with the nineteenth century views (Castaneda 1996:142).

In the last twenty years, a turn towards linguistics has been the forefront with the decipherment of the Mayan code (Castaneda 1996:142). Without a Rosetta Stone, the ancient Maya baffled Western intellectual capacity, and mystery once again ensued (Castaneda 1996: 143). However, most Maya texts currently are readable due

to the work of many great archaeologists and epigraphers (Coe and Van Stone 2001: 7). Analyzing the Thompson era combined with leaps toward understanding Maya writing, one would think the image of mystery would have disappeared. However it can still be found.

Knowledge of the Maya maintained through mostly Western interpretation of hieroglyphs, agriculture, cities, and the collapse presents a situation of bias. Western preconceptions permeate Maya archaeology (Castaneda 1996:144). The evidence is clear, so much so that recent scholarly works such as Stuart and Stuart's (1992) work entitled *Lost Kingdoms of the Maya* perpetuate the theme of the mysterious ancient culture. Yet, this contradicts the living Maya culture as well as the vault of information archaeology has uncovered. The contemporaneous Maya are missing within the minds of the Western world as well participating in the archaeology of their heritage. The Maya maintain a culture different from that of Western ideas (Schele and Freidel 1990: 37). Without including Maya perspectives, ethics and opinions, Mesoamerican archaeology is missing informative interpretation. In an attempt to weave theory, ethics, method, and the living and the deceased together it is absolutely vital to understand the ethical commitment each archaeologist must consider.

Ethical Considerations and Codes of Conduct

The code of ethics that archaeologists abide is necessary because it identifies the ethics for archaeologists should follow. The World Archaeological Congress (WAC) provides some synthesized ethical information regarding indigenous

populations. The WAC was founded in 1987 on an international level with elected representatives from different regions of the world (Smith and Burke 2003: 184). The WAC specifically states that archaeology of and with indigenous people is the second goal in their code of ethics (Bulmer 1991: 54). They have created several ethical codes "that are specific to indigenous cultural heritage. These include First Code of Ethics, The Vermillion Accord on Human Remains, and the Draft Code of Ethics for the Amazon Forest Peoples" (Smith and Burke 2003: 184) (Appendix 1).

Archaeological ethics and the treatment of the dead was the focus of the 1989 WAC conference in Vermillion, South Dakota. The meeting was conducted along side the American Indians Against Desecration and the International Indian Treaty Council, which are consortiums for dealing with museums and institutions that still possessed Native American skeletal remains without consent (Bulmer 1991: 54). Through this council, the Vermillion Accord was produced. The Vermillion Accord on Human Remains requires basic respect for mortal remains of the dead in several different arenas such as: wishes of the dead for their disposal, respect for scientific research, and recognition of various ethnic groups concerns. This accord represented a beginning to understand the needs of native societies for skeletal or mortal human remains. The WAC position and ethical beliefs are supported by international bodies such as the UN Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (Smith and Burke 2003: 185).

WAC believed reburial is one of the most important ethical issues that have caused problems between archaeologists and indigenous communities. For example

the Kennewick Man case (Thomas 2000), Lake Mungo Lady remains (Thorne 1976, Smith and Burke 2003: 186), and Kow Swamp remains (Mulvaney 1991) are all cases where the indigenous communities wanted the remains returned to them. The Vermillion Accord is intended to foster mutual respect and cooperation between archaeologists and indigenous peoples. WAC has appointed eight indigenous peoples representatives to their board because they believe, "archaeologists have a legitimate right to practice their profession provided that this is ethically done" (Bulmer 1991: 55). However, this still creates a great deal of confusion between archaeologists and indigenous communities. Since the WAC believes the remains should be given to the local communities and the scientific value of the skeleton is fourth, falling behind that of the wishes of the dead and the wishes of the deceased's relatives and family (Smith and Burke 2003: 184). This raises the question of heritage. Is it for living cultural heritage and indigenous stewardship or is it cultural heritage of all people where archaeologists have stewardship? The WAC Vermillion code of ethics places the indigenous stewardship above that of the archaeologist, yet not all codes of ethics follow this suit.

Archaeologists believe they have a certain amount of stewardship in order to protect world heritage and patrimony. The Society for American Archaeology (SAA) was begun in the 1930s as "an international organization dedicated to the research, interpretation, and protection of the archaeological heritage of the Americas" (SAA WEB). The first code of ethics was very basic and only covered archaeology and the archaeological record. It was not until April 1996 that the SAA principles of

Archaeological Ethics provided professional standards and responsibilities for archaeologists, yet the SAA Ethics have little information on how this work impacts indigenous groups (Smith and Burke 2003: 182). Stewardship and Accountability are the first two principles of the SAA code (Appendix 2). These principles focus on the archaeological record and long term conservation of the materials rather then the living people affiliated with the materials. The SAA demands for all parties involved. Yet, this guideline is extremely difficult to follow. For example, with the Kennewick man, the body would not be given back to the people but considered as beneficial for World Heritage. As Smith and Burke (2003) point out: how do you benefit all people? Do you support those that will be most directly affected? Do you support the largest number of people? The SAA code of ethics also is lacking in explanation of how to incorporate multiple views.

The American Anthropological Association (AAA) attempted to solve this debate with their Principles of Professional Responsibility adopted in May 1971. They were constantly under debate and were revised in the mid 1990's and finalized into the Code of Ethics approved in June 1998 (Smith and Burke 2003:180) (Appendix 3). The primary responsibility of anthropologists is to those who are being studied. Specifically,

> anthropological researchers have primary ethical obligations to the people and materials they study and to the people with whom they work. These obligations can supersede the goal of seeking new knowledge, and can lead to decision not to undertake or to discontinue a research project when the primary obligation conflicts with other responsibilities, such as those owed to sponsors or clients (AAA Code of Ethics, Smith and Burke 2003:180)

This clearly places the people that are studied above "scholarship and science" (Smith and Burke 2003:180). Applying this again to the same situation with Kennewick Man may at first seem easy: return it to the indigenous group. Yet, these are remains, not the living. So is the responsibility to the dead person to try and fulfill their wishes? (Smith and Burke 2003:180). This code of ethics also does not completely provide a multivocal answer.

Members of the SAA Interim Committee on Professional Standards believed it were important to not only have a Code of Ethics but also a Code of Conduct for all professional archaeologists. In 1976 the Code of Conduct was established by Society of Professional Archaeologists (SOPA) which is now knows as The Register of Professional Archaeologists (RPA) (Appendix 4). The code of conduct presents guidelines for an archaeologist to work with the public, colleagues, students, and employees in professionalism, responsibility, publications, behavior. There are not any references to specifically working with indigenous groups or communities, but instead suggests that archaeologists should work in all requirements as guided by UNESCO. This is followed by a section entitled "Standards of Research," which calls archaeologists to perform their methodologies in the field, lab, and during publication to the best of their ability (RPA).

The Code of Conduct and Standards of Research are standards all archaeologists should follow. However, archaeologists are not required to register, but the archaeologists that join are required to agree in writing to abide by the Code and rules. A RPA Disciplinary Procedure can be utilized if any registered

archaeologist breaches the code or standards. Anyone, an archaeologist or non-archaeologist can contact RPA and complain. There is a "quasi-legal" trial in front of the standards board, but only archaeologists registered in the RPA can be tried (Davis 2003: 254). Over the 25 years the RPA has only had to deal with a few cases. Only the cases brought before the Standards Board are made public, so all other questions of ethical treatment are kept secret (Davis 2003:254). Davis (2003) believes the Register is a positive step for archaeological ethics, but still waiting to reach its full potential, which will be when others besides archaeologists and associations like the SAA look to the Register as a means of accountability for professional archaeologists (258).

Ethical considerations are inescapable in the modern world of archaeology. Yet, as demonstrated, there is no one code of ethics that present an easy way to work with local communities. A combination of ethical codes, standards of conduct and professionalism are needed but extremely difficult without losing particular voices. Identifying a methodology to respect multiple-voices and function in the spirit of archaeology is still necessary.

Arnold (2002), a German and American archaeologist, calls for American archaeologists to acknowledge the abuses of the past to Native Americans and realize the Post-NAGPRA world in which American archaeologists are working. The basic changes that American archaeology has gone through over the last twenty years such as CRM and NAGPRA "are not reflected in the theoretical literature produced mainly by academics who are somewhat insulated from those changes" (Arnold 2002: 411).

Arnold cautions that “cultural relativism is one of the necessary preconditions for the abuses perpetrated by systems like the National Socialist regime, expert fabricators of a usable past” (Arnold 2002: 408). In multivocality it is absolutely necessary to be cautious of not finding the “usable” past that will best fit the multivocal considerations and instead realize there can and is more than one view of the past. Through investigations of different community and collaborative archaeologies, it is a hope, that an augmented ethical methodology can be created.

Collaborative Archaeology

Collaborative archaeology is necessary for successful research, preservation of cultural diversity and assurance of a sustainable future for archaeology. It is a new development in the discipline of archaeology and is encouraging local communities to make decisions and to have partial control over aspects of the archaeological projects. It provides an opportunity for better scholarship along with political correctness (Marshall 2002). The sensitive relationship between scientists and local people demands a multivocal anthropology. In order to collaborate with the community, these are the goals that are to be addressed:

1) Maintain a multidisciplinary team of local residents and interested participants.

2) The local community must have control of segments of the project at each step of the process. Simultaneously, the project and community should be establishing improved living standards and self sufficiency for the local community. As Anabel Ford explains (2004), “local communities are the ultimate custodians of their history and environment. Our task is to prove they also are the ultimate beneficiaries”.

However, within the local community there are many different communities to benefit or be hurt by the work so it is mandatory to consider the religious, educational and political communities in which the archaeologists are working.

3) Preservation of cultural heritage; the living culture and the ancient culture. Education for all collaborators involving school education, ecological, local wisdom, conservation, archaeological, agriculture and sustainable development should be integrated into the program.

4) A specific agenda outlining goals, role of the community, the researchers, the ecology, possible tourism, and preservation of cultural patrimony such as artifacts and where they will be stored and displayed.

5) Incorporating the local, state, and national government, the laws, regulations, and permits and how they can be understood, taught, and translated at the local level.

6) Connecting the local community to the bigger picture of national and world patrimony. These six goals are a base that all community archaeology projects should consider.

New Zealand

Since 1976, New Zealand archaeologists have had to consult with the indigenous Maori populations due to the federal Historic Places Act (1976). Prior to excavation or survey, the archaeologists must consult with representatives of the Maori people and discuss all procedures that will be followed especially in the case where human bones are uncovered (Bulmer 1991: 55). The act put into place a public assembly called the Historic Places Trust that watches over archaeology and

preservation to make sure that everything is completed properly. Incorporating these ideals, the New Zealand archaeology association requires its members to follow and abide by the Historic Places Act. Many archaeologists have maintained productive relationships with the communities (Bulmer 1991: 55).

One specific example is the *Wahi ngaro* project, which focuses on strengthening relationships with the local Maori group of the Ngati Mutunga. The project began when the wetlands of Taranaki were being drained for farmland. Many wooden artifacts were exposed and recovered, and as the drainage increased, the sites located here were put at risk (Allen et al 2002:316). Originally the Wet Organics Conversation Laboratory at the University of Auckland, the Taranaki Museum and the Ngati Mutunga, the Maori tribe of the area were linked together through conservation interests. But when archaeological investigations were added, the project almost came to a halt due to Maori concerns, and in order for the archaeology to continue, both the archaeologists and the Maori had find a way to work together.

The wetlands are a large part of the landscape in New Zealand and the Maori have used the wetlands as a source and a place to store cultural materials for almost eight hundred years (Allen et al 2002:318). The project had to consider three values of the wetlands 1) nzauri or the life essence the Maori people place on the wetlands 2) the archaeological values, and 3) ecological values in order to work in the area. Next, it was important to understand that the Maori people retained the rights of the intellectual property of the Maori place names, traditions and other information that would be released or published. If any human remains were found, people had to be

contacted and all work stopped. Also the artifacts and everything that was recovered were property of the people, and lastly, the researchers were to consult with the people prior to publication of the results in order to include the Maori perspective (Allen et al 2002: 322). The other important consideration is the decision making of the Maori tribes, which is complex. Major issues usually require the consensus of the all tribal members, while authority over local areas is performed at the kind group level (Allen et al 2002: 324). This meant that archaeology could be performed in some areas and closed in others, but this was the only way the archaeology project could continue.

Other considerations the archaeologists had to face were political changes and events in the area that created issues for the community. One important aspect was that the Maori prefer “face-to-face relationships (kanohi ki kanohi), and these are more difficult with a multi-disciplinary team that arrives and departs irregularly to the area distant from the universities (Allen et al 2002: 325). As a result, the local community is unfamiliar with academic work and many of the protocols. The archaeology project was constantly adapting to the community and the community needs. Overall the research now is focused on conservation of the wetlands as well as supporting the Maori as the “custodians of the land and heritage” by working with the community and providing a new and better understanding of the wetlands (Allen et al 2002: 326).

Australia

Australia leads the way for method, theory, and practice of involving indigenous peoples in archaeology. The majority of articles and books over the last decade involving archaeology and indigenous people working together have been from Australia. The Australian Archaeological Association, which is similar to the United States American Anthropological Association or Society for American Archaeology, agreed upon a code of ethics. One of the most important rules they put into effect was electing two aboriginal members to their board. This ensures an aboriginal representative voice within the archaeological framework (Bulmer 1991: 55).

In 1985, a methodology towards working with aboriginal communities was outlined by Lewis and Bird Rose for Australia. Lewis and Bird Rose (1985) had many strong ideas of how to communicate with indigenous groups. Yet, some of the phrasing and explanations seem to portray the aboriginals as simple. Explaining questions to ask aboriginals are mocking for example: “where do you think a bloke might find something? Where can a bloke go so that he won’t get into a trouble?” These questions appear derogatory and somewhat misleading. A shocking statement that really seems to deny their entire argument is “Obviously, many members of traditional aboriginal society would find the average archaeological publication largely incomprehensible, therefore researchers should produce a generalized report” (Lewis and Bird Rose 1985). The method is strong in ideas and groundbreaking to identify the needs of the aboriginal people however, it shows it is dated through its

failure to include the community. This overall method as proposed by Lewis and Bird Rose stands only to consult the community and not collaborate with the community; however, I have utilized some of their early ideas in creating a framework that will include that community (Lewis and Bird Rose 1985).

Australia overall has many different case studies that can be explored. Greer, Harrison and McIntyre-Tamwoy (2002) update the Lewis and Bird Rose (1985) ideas by clearly defining the difference between 'getting consent' from aboriginal communities versus community-based research. Looking at a wide range of case studies they conclude that Australian archaeology has been challenged and changed from working in the community. A few changes mentioned are a focus on remembered past rather than Paleolithic past, communities are interested in what archaeology has to offer besides the technical facts, and communities attribute many values to the past that come from various arenas (Greer, Harrison, and McIntyre-Tomwoy 2002: 282). Community based archaeology is changing the focus and ideas of archaeology towards a grassroots rather than colonial efforts.

United States of America

In the United States regulation of excavation of indigenous graves and sites on tribal and federal lands falls under the State Historical Preservation Offices. These institutions are supposed to ensure that archaeological "work is conducted in the public interest" (Talmage 1982 in Blancke and Slow Turtle 1996: 65). Many Native tribes are opening their own historical preservation offices. A primary example is the Navajo nation. A nation of over 200,000 people and 25,000 square miles, they posses

complete control over archaeological work that is performed on their land. The Navajo have 100-150 “professionally trained Navajo archaeologists and technicians” (Blancke and Slow Turtle 1996: 65).

Over the years the Commission on Indian Affairs and the State Archaeologist at the State Historical Commission as well as others have worked together to write legislation for Native heritage protection. In 1977 and 1982 the legislation did not pass; however, in 1983 the law protecting unmarked burials was passed (Blancke and Slow Turtle 1996: 66). Collaboration between archaeologists and Native Americans in Massachusetts led by John Peters Slow Turtle, Executive Director of the State Commission on Indian Affairs, has created the Massachusetts Unmarked Burial Law. Prior to this law, all marked graves in the state were protected by law however, many Native graves were unmarked and therefore not protected and impacted by new construction (Blancke and Slow Turtle 1996: 65). This law applies to skeletons only, not grave goods, affects those unmarked burials or cemeteries of any cultural affiliation over 100 years old on private and public lands (Blancke and Slow Turtle 1996: 66). Many benefits have been noted by the State Archaeologist, Brona Simon, who has noticed an increase of reports about burials, as well as more archaeological surveys and investigations and “the emergence of the Native community as a strong constituency in support of historic and archaeological site preservation activities” (Simon 1944b in Blancke and Slow Turtle 1996: 66).

Similarly, other allies are forming in other regions of the United States. The Mashantucket Pequot’s of Connecticut have been supporting many archaeological

surveys and investigations through profit from their casino. In the same vein the Mohegan nation and Eastern Connecticut State University are sponsoring an archaeological field school together for the second year in a row. “These laws are fostering a climate among the archaeological community of cooperation with Native peoples even when the laws themselves do not apply” (Blancke and Slow Turtle 1996: 68).

Projects do not only include indigenous communities. Carol McDavid led the first project to unite African American and European-American descendant communities together with archaeologists to tell the stories of plantation life in the south (McDavid 2002: 312). The collaborative effort involved the slave and plantation owning populations, and created a meaningful past for all involved. By including the descendant communities from both populations she was able to take archaeology beyond the “truth” of the past to a “conversation” about the past (McDavid 2002: 312). This project completed by McDavid parallels my thinking, that there is no one ‘truth’ about the past, but by engaging in open conversation, so much more can be uncovered.

Canada

The Iqaluktuuq Project; Nunavut, Canada

T. Max Friesen describes different methods of applying ethnographic data to archaeology, in artic archaeology. The Iqaluktuuq is a 3-kilometer long stretch of land along the Akalluk River between Ferguson Lake and Wellington Bay. The project has a long term agenda of fieldwork to gather and identify material culture found in the

Iqualuktuuq area. The Kitikmeot Heritage Society (KHS) in Cambridge Bay began the project (Friesen 2002: 333). Many local Inuit elders and young members and Anglos compose the group. A key focus of the group is to collect and preserve oral histories given by elder members of the society around the town of Cambridge Bay. An integral methodology that the KHS and the project developed was that they must travel to the areas where the elders lived during their younger years and perform the interviews there, rather then in the local towns. This incorporates the landscape and experiences of the past, creating more detailed histories (Friesen 2002: 333). The oral histories have helped to locate the site of Iqaluktuuq as a prime archaeology site. This site has now become important for the entire archaeological sequence of this region in the arctic.

The research model used as an "equal partnership between the KHS and the University of Toronto" is broken into two components for each field season (Friesen 2002: 336). The first part of the season a large camp is set up for the archaeology crew

> (principal investigator, two or three graduate students and two Inuit students from Cambridge Bay) and the traditional knowledge crew (usually about fifteen individuals including twelve elders, a translator/interpreter, an interview and a camp manager) (Friesen 2002: 336).

For this session of the model, KHS is in charge of conducting group and individual interviews with the elders. KHS also is in charge of gaining the proper research permits and organizing the session as well as properly recording, using, and disseminating the traditional knowledge. The archaeologists are always a part of the process as well.

For the second session of the field season is devoted to archaeology for three to four weeks. Survey and sampling from a variety of site types in each of the major culture and historical divisions are performed archaeologically (Friesen 2002: 336). Importantly, archaeology occurs simultaneously with the elders watching, interpreting and sharing their ideas, as well as learning the methods of archaeology. The sites are chosen based upon academic merit as well as the usefulness of the artifacts and information and how this can be shared and displayed in the cultural center in Cambridge Bay. Friesen also applies the ethnographic data from living Inuit into archaeology. Using Wylie 1985, Friesen seeks to establish similarities and differences between the two and not search for the perfect analog (Friesen 2002: 339). Friesen also applies Wylies's idea of understanding the whole picture through not neglecting either side. The information gained through this interpretation and fieldwork is one way of establishing answers however Friesen sees this program of fieldwork as "intended to operate within a framework recognizing archaeological research as a constant renegotiation among data, ideas and their modern social milieu" (Friesen 2002:342).

Latin America

Pakbeh Regional Economy Program; Yucatan, Mexico

Shifting from processual archaeological methodologies towards a community based program combining processual archaeology and local desires for tourism, the Pakbeh Regional Economy Program is establishing new goals. Originally designed to describe the ethnic nature of ancient trading in the Yucatan, the project switched to "a

collaborative plan of research and development that uses academic archaeological inquiry as a foundation from which to generate tourism within the local communities" (Ardren 2002: 380). Directors Traci Ardren and Bruce Dahlin actively participate in an open dialogue with the community members as well as the academic arena in order to discuss how archaeology should carry on into the future.

With the growth in tourism in the Yucatan, the Maya communities are a large part of the attraction but receive little direct money from the industry. The communities are interested in the small sustainable tourism industry that could benefit the locals (Ardren 2002: 385). Before the community and the archaeologists were able to reach this juncture, the townspeople were wary of the foreigners. Locals in the area felt that they were outsiders who only wished to profit from the land and give nothing back (Ardren 2002: 386). It was then understood that a working dialogue between both sides must be in place for any archaeology to take place. Facilitating this process was to have the community members directly involved as well as learning about the site and information. All locals were encouraged to handle ceramics and artifacts and a mutual trust was built as crewmembers and locals shared knowledge. Another fruitful step that fostered strong relationships had Pakbeh Project members present exhibits and posters to the community.

One of the best activities the Pakbeh Project incorporated into their collaborative activities was the Yucatec Maya language. The project members produced a short video for the community about excavation techniques and the archaeology project that was narrated in both Spanish and Yucatec Maya (Arden

2002:389). This provided the community with an understandable way to learn about the project and made their decisions to accept it or not. I feel this shows incredible respect for the local villagers by the Pakbeh Project that they would invest time and energy to make sure everyone in the area understood, even those that speak Yucatec Maya.

A living museum is an educational way for the locals to enhance their own knowledge of their past, as well as demonstrate to tourists and share in the archaeological knowledge that is gained by the project. The living museum will incorporate weavers, potters, as well as growing traditional papaya trees in an area where locals would rotate and spend time in the reconstructed residential sites as a sort of vignette. Other positive movements towards securing a future with the community is employing high school students as laboratory employees as well as helping them apply for scholarships at the University. Another aspect that Pakbeh realizes is the importance of involving the school children by training teachers and inviting school tours. The Pakbeh project utilizes many innovative methods towards collaborative archaeology.

Belize River Archaeological Settlement Survey/ El Pilar

A good opportunity to demonstrate useful collaboration in action is through the preservation of the Latin American environment and culture. Anabel Ford, an archaeologist and professor at the University of California at Santa Barbara, maintains The Belize River Archaeological Settlement Survey project at El Pilar. With a focus on the “domestic who actually inhabited the site, rather than the

monumental," Ford realizes the importance of authenticity (Ford 2004). Sharing the resources of El Pilar, is a prime example of cooperation between Belize and Guatemala. Ford also agrees that this is only the beginning of many new opportunities. It serves as a foundation for a model of collaboration for environmental reserves and the local communities (Ford 2004).

I agree with her gospel to demystify the Maya. Emphasizing the entire range of anthropology from zooarchaeology to archaeology, she focuses on the everyday life of the Maya and believes it to be more important than a temple. Working at El Pilar Ford focuses on the unification between the environment and the Maya and how they survived for many years in this tropical location. Ford wants to create a new way to use cultural ecology and the local people in order to comprehend and appreciate the Maya monuments. A collaboration of this level has utilized many resources, aspects, and ideas (Ford 2004).

The protection and preservation of the archaeological site and the forest is paramount. Ford created an international team to help protect the site from archaeological looting as well as recovering traditional farming strategies and conserving the forest. This model in Belize is a great leap in the motion towards collaboration and holistic understanding.

The Other Side of Collaboration and Multivocality

The 2012 Phenomenon

The 2012 phenomenon is a movement based on the fact that the ancient Maya Long Count Calendar will complete a major cycle on December 21, 2012 (the winter

solstice). Different groups believe different events could happen that day, such as: the end of the world, a reawakening, or a judgment from god. It has been mainly supported through New Age religious enthusiasts who have selected specific aspects of Maya culture, religion, cosmic understanding and calendar to weave together their own specific agenda. In order to maintain authority as well as authenticity there is collaboration with indigenous Maya priests and religious leaders with the leaders of the 2012 movement which drives the theories forward (Sitler 2006:25). The New Age religious community is one that must also be considered when discussing current and ancient Maya peoples. Many Maya priests do not follow the same beliefs as the New Age religious community and this demonstrates a serious issue with multivocality. Often there are conflicting and differing views within a multivocal project and it is coming to terms with partial histories that are chosen with bias and at times are what has to result rather than a complete and very complex truly representative and multivocal history.

One of the New Age leaders is Jose Arguelles, a Mexican American spiritual leader with a PhD in Art History from the University of Chicago (Arguelles 2006a), Arguelles, led a "Harmonic Convergence" that occurred in 1987. This event marked "the exponential acceleration of the wave harmonic of history as it phases into a moment of unprecedented synchronization" which is a "shift point into the last 25 years of the galactic beam" and will shift again in 2012 (Arguelles 1987: 159; Sitler 2006: 25-26). Through events such as these, Arguelles says he feels the spiritual presence of the ancient Maya. His overall challenge is to set the calendar in order

cosmically as the "voyaging Maya" understood it- through galactic seasons (Arguelles 1987: 21).

Arguelles' thirty-three year journey to find the Maya began as a childhood fantasy. At a young age, he read Morley's *The Ancient Maya* and J.E.S. Thompson's *Maya Hieroglyphic Writing* and *The Rise and Fall of Mayan Civilization*. Arguelles like me, saw something missing within Morley's and Thompson's work which had been written in the 1940's, 1950's and 1960's. I myself viewed these texts as opportunities to seek more answers through archaeology while Arguelles feels, "archaeologists like Thompson don't fathom what it was the Maya were about, they generally input the worst, projecting themselves with their modern habits uncomfortably into an alien, fatalist regime" (Arguelles 1987:27). Throughout his book *The Mayan Factor* Arguelles will refer to archaeologists in a negative manner, for "the archaeologists could unearth the stones and catalog the data…but this said nothing about the livingness of the ancient civilizations…and besides the artifacts were but the residue…the reality was in the mental emotional condition that went into the artifacts (Arguelles 1987:29). Overall, Arguelles critiques archaeologists for being Eurocentric, close minded, concerned only with the calendar as a time marker, and claims that despite the "'advances' in archaeology, the true story of the Maya remains a closed book" (Arguelles 1987: 47, 45, 40). Sadly, Arguelles almost fails to cite or refer to any archaeological texts less then twenty years old, with the most recent at ten years previous. Arguelles is missing out on a large amount of data

ethnographic and archaeological from the 1980s. The only text he does cite is Barbara Tedlock (1982).

The information from archaeology Arguelles does use involves the Long Count, images from vases, stelae, dates outlines of the Classic period, and discoveries such as the stone tube. This tube runs within the Temple of Inscriptions at Palenque from the tomb of K'inich Janaab' Pakal to the upper levels of the temple. At Palenque, Arguelles utilizes a Telektonon, or "talking stone of prophecy," that revealed itself to him in a message from the ancient Maya king Pakal through this stone tube in 1993. As a spokesperson for Pakal Votan (his name for the ancient Maya king) Arguelles proposed that a shift to a thirteen month lunar calendar will prepare mankind for 2012 (Sitler 2006:26, Arguelles 2006a). His "Dreamspell" calendar, Arguelles explains, is "a precise expression of the prophetic tradition of Chilam Balam" (Arguelles 2006b). However, Arguelles calendar is "galactic Maya" rather then indigenous Maya (Arguelles 1987) Although Arguelles believes his work is "galactic" and not indigenous, he supports the view that the Classic Maya were a civilization of great intellect and accomplishment and that their current living descendants have persisted despite terrible misfortunes. He claims that the wizards and keepers of the "most ancient traditions have managed to keep alive the knowledge, the code, the lines of truth that lead directly to the stars (Arguelles 1987 49). Overall, the mission of the Maya on this earth according to Arguelles, was "to place the Earth and its solar system in synchronization with a larger galactic

community." He claims the hieroglyphs and dates provide this meaning (Arguelles 1987: 50).

Arguelles finds it possible to utilize archaeological and ethnographic data and attribute all the past to the Maya, yet he says he is now above the indigenous Maya and is "galactic". Sitler believes that Arguelles' invented calendar could be distributed greater than the actual ritual calendar the living Maya daykeepers have passed on through oral tradition for over 200 years (2006: 26). However, Arguelles is somewhat protected because he is associated with certain Maya participants such as Humbatz Men -a Yukatek Maya from the "Itza lineage" (Arguelles 1987, Sitler 2006: 26) Hunbatz Men authored *Secrets of Mayan Science and Religion*, a book cited as "revealing the sacred teachings that were hidden by the Maya priesthood shortly after the arrival of the Spanish" (Men 2006). Men believes the Maya have lived all over the world, including the "lost continent" of Atlantis and Egypt. An "authority on the history, chronology and calendars of Mayan civilization and is founder of the Mayan Indigenous Community near Merida, Mexico, and a respected ceremonial leader" Hunbatz Men could be difficult to refute (Men 2006). It could be difficult to refute him as a daykeeper because of the experience that I have had with multiple Kaqchikel and K'iche' ajq'ija' or daykeepers indicate they are all "authorities", in that there is not a licensing, or an approval board and each of them has a respectful and attentive community who regard them so. Usually, within the community, there is an apprenticeship for a daykeeper. Most often they practice slightly different methods in different areas (Tedlock 1982, Earle and Snow 1983,

Gossen 1986; Balam, Aq'abal, and Ka'ji Kat Personal Communications 2003 and 2004).

John Major Jenkins, an independent Maya scholar, as well researched Maya archaeology, artwork, codices, and vases. Jenkins' book; *Maya Cosmogenesis 2012: The True Meaning of the Maya Calendar End Date* (1998) contains a wonderful bibliography of the same Maya scholars that I have read, cited, and learned from. Yet, his book reveals ideas more similar to the New Age beliefs then my own. He calls for Neo-Shamans to unite in order to understand how Maya visionaries spiritually traveled to the Galactic Center (Jenkins 1998:209).

Overall, most of the information from the 2012 websites and books are of prophecies and contacts with: 1) ancient Maya spirits, 2) extraterrestrials, and 3) a reincarnation of an ancient Maya. Most have little or no connection with the "actual Mayan world and its ancient culture" (Sitler 2006: 27). Yet, there is a growing population of people reading and learning about these interpretations of the ancient and current Maya. Some archaeologists clump all "New Agers" or 2012 aficionados as one group. From the literature I have read, most of those finding issue with archaeological interpretation also clump all archaeologists together. We all make generalizations about the other group that most likely does not apply to sides. No matter what, there will always be multiples interpretations of one artifact, one story, or a truth. As an academic community we must decide how to deal with viewpoints such as Arguelles and others. The work that we do needs to be disseminated to the general public and the Maya.

Effects for the Maya and the archaeological communities

The overall effect of this rising 2012 phenomenon is still unknown, but could be profound. Archaeology scholars are already reacting and speaking about it in public forums such as the University of Texas Mesoamerican Center Discussion Board (University of Texas Mesoamerican Center 2006). However, finding published literature or articles about the subject by noted archaeologists is difficult. William Fash (1994) briefly mentions the 2012 date as an ancient Maya date prophesied as when the world will come to end, but treats it as a challenge towards scholarship, better ethics, and a deeper understanding (1994:198).

Fash (1994:197) discusses changing perspectives on Maya Civilization because Maya studies are stronger then ever and contain a greater depth of time and anthropology. Fash encourages multidisciplinary work in anthropology, ethnography and ethnoarchaeological work as well as a union between anthropologists and archaeologists to gain a stronger footing (Fash 1994: 197-198). It is communication between archaeologists, anthropologists, and indigenous Maya where even better scholarship and understanding can be produced and as a way to secure the cultural heritage of the Maya (Fash 1994:198). This is an important step towards better scholarship and indigenous rights.

With five years left before 2012, the momentum seems likely to grow. I have a feeling the Maya will start to react. Through private conversations with friends in Guatemala, ethnographers, and Maya themselves, some have revealed that there are Ajq'ij or daykeepers that are "buying" into the foreigners fascination with the

calendar in order to gain financial rather then spiritual goals. However, this could also be a continuation of the ever developing and growing syncratic religion of Guatemala. With the Spanish came Catholicism which is now intricately weaved into many Maya traditions. Could 2021 be woven in as new narratives in the traditional Maya spirituality?

Yet, as these self proclaimed Maya prophets and priests increase, will the Maya themselves react? The Lakota nation in 1993 wrote a “Declaration of War Against Exploiters of Lakota Spirituality” which is written as a legal document against those who abuse Lakota belief for their own means (Lakota 2006). The Lakota proclaim that for:

> too long we have suffered the unspeakable indignity of having our most precious Lakota ceremonies and spiritual practices desecrated, mocked and abused by non-Indian "wannabes," hucksters, cultists, commercial profiteers and self-styled "New Age shamans"(Lakota 2006).

The rest of the declaration describes how new age shamans and other exploiters do not work with their shamans or tribal groups and therefore create differing and at times, hurtful interpretations. The Lakota declare legal “war” against those who continue these acts and call for other native brothers and sisters to join them. This declaration of war is a possible reality for the Pan-Mayan movement.

Nationalist Archaeology: Nazi Germany

Community archaeology in theory attempts to bring many viewpoints together to better understand the past. However, there comes a point when certain facts are chosen over others. Arnold (2002:408) believes that “archaeology has always lent itself to being ‘mined’ for a ‘usable past’ and “one of the most extreme examples is of

Nazi Germany". Nazi Germany created and promoted conceptions of a past that served the purpose of the Nationalist Socialist regime. They were "expert fabricators of a usable past" utilizing ancient symbols, archaeological finds, and history to explain their power (Arnold 2002:408). These are serious problems when this usable past serves to abuse archaeological data and stands only for political purposes.

Gustav Kossinna, a German archaeologist of the early 1900's, believed archaeology could be "simultaneously scientific and socially relevant" (Arnold 2002: 409). It was this socially scientific past that helped define the Third Reich and led the leaders of the party to know they were creating and distorting the past to make it usable to them. Kossinna's focus, which was later utilized by the Nazi party, was not just the "German national" but the overall "superiority of the Germanic tribes as regards biological, physiological and intellectual characteristics" (Veit 2002: 52). Kossina believed prehistory was a method to promote the German identity and most importantly the expression of the German spirit (Veit 2002: 57).

Kossinna himself was originally interested in settlement patterns and how it applied to the "Prehistoric Distribution of the Germani in Germany," a paper he presented at the Anthropological Society meetings in 1895 (Veit 2002: 45). Kossinna focused on the German people, their origin, and all the cultural areas corresponding to specific people and tribes in the region of Germany. His 1911 book, *The origin of the Germani: On the Settlement-Archaeological Method*, described the settlement pattern of tribes and people, but he began with recent history and worked backwards to reconstruct people form the present to the Mesolithic (Veit 2002: 45-46). Kossinna's

1912 book, *German Prehistory, A Pre-eminently National Discipline*, described his concept of "an ideal Aryan Nordic race, superior to all other peoples" (Veit 2002: 46). He also believed that archaeology could be used to prove the existence of the Aryan people. This Aryan, Nordic race had physical characteristics of having a light-complexion, being tall, slim, blond hair color and maintaining a calm yet firm character that was "constantly striving, intellectually brilliant, with an almost ideal attitude towards the world and life in general (Veit 2002: 47).

Using ethnohistorical research, Kossinna attempted to make political assertions for war propaganda during World War I. This included his attempt and failure to influence the decisions at the Versailles Peace Conference, with ideas that the land along the Vistual is ancient German territory and needed to be preserved for the German people (Veit 2002:49). Kossinna did not have the support of the German universities while he was writing his work; it was when the Nazis came to power that Kossina's work became recognized (Trigger 1995: 271). Kossinna died a year before Hitler rose to power, but Kossinna became recognized as the "conceptual father and the leading figure of a National Socialist Volkishe (folk i.e. ethnic and racial) prehistory…more for his political statements then academics" (Veit 2002: 49, Arnold and Hassmann 1995:71). Leaders of the Nazi party recognized him as a resource for their political aims, and Henrich Himmler himself explained:

> The one and only thing that matters to us, and the thing these people are paid for by the state, is to have ideas of history that strengthen our people in their necessary national pride. In all this troublesome business we are only interested in one thing- to project in the dim and distant past the picture of our nation as we envisage it for the future. The entire *Germania* of Tacitus is a tendentious piece of writing. Our study of German-ness has been based on a

> fake for many years. We are entitled to do the same at any time (Rauschning 1940:214 in Arnold 2002:408).

Yet, these ideas were not only promoted by the Nazi's. The following phrase is found in the paragraph above: "to have ideas of history that strengthen our people in their necessary national pride"; this phrase can and should be directly related the Pan-Mayan movement. Although, very different from the Nazi's, the pan-Maya movement recognizes they must consider the plurality of the Maya culture and from there "the pan-Maya movement for cultural reaffirmation will express itself as a cultural strategy developed by the Maya to assure the survival and continuity of their culture in future katunes (twenty-year cycles of the Maya calendar)" (Montejo 2005: 17). Is there an overt problem with the selection of history to promote a stronger and a healthier identity for oppressed indigenous populations? Some would say no, but than why is it wrong for the Nazi's? Where and how can we draw the line of truths, histories, and multivocal pasts?

Manipulating history to fit the goals of the political movement, to create a nationalist identity through the usable past began heavily with Gustaf Kossinna but the leaders of the party took it to new extremes. However, the manipulation of history continues today in Guatemala and other nationalities as governments strive to present the best past about their country.

From 1933 to 1939, being an archaeologist of Prehistory was extremely beneficial in Germany. Large amounts of funding became available for excavations throughout Germany and Eastern Europe, new museums were established, and archaeological journals and films were heavily supported. (Guatemala can easily fit

into this category as multiple archaeology museums and journals about ancient Maya history are available, demonstrating the history that is most readily recognized and wanted by the people and or government of Guatemala.) By 1939 prehistory was taught at more than twenty-five German universities. However, for all of these benefits for archaeology, there was a price that had to be paid. The price was that "prehistoric archaeology was to become the handmaiden of the National Socialist platform of territorial expansion and racialist dogma" (Arnold and Hassmann 1995: 76). As the Nazi party expanded their control into new countries, they also expanded their control of archaeological research institutions. The Third Reich could not deny the "propaganda value of an academic discipline which advertised its ability to identify ethnic boundaries on the basis of material culture remains" (Arnold and Hassmann 1995: 77). Yet, even party leaders like Himmler and Rosenberg were criticized by Hitler for "taking all of their homemade Germanic myths seriously" (Arnold and Hassmann 1995: 77).

The "Germanic myths" put into play by the National Socialist regime of the Nazis was primarily in the area of iconography and symbolism. Many of the emblems of the party were derived from an idealized prehistory, such as the swastika an "Aryan" emblem (Arnold and Hassmann 1995: 77). Hitler had a hand in all of the emblems and party designs and designed the swastika flag of the party himself in 1920 (Arnold and Hassmann 1995: 77). Hitler chose the swastika, which dates to at least five thousand years ago, because it was supposed to mean "good luck and protection against evil" and was said to be unknown to Semitic peoples (Arnold and

Hassmann 1995: 77-78). Other symbols, such as the lightening bolt SS symbol, were made in order to replace all Christian religious symbols with Germanic runes and symbols. The SS symbol itself was chosen for its graphic power, as it was made by an illustrator, Walter Heck in 1929. However, members of the SS spent a great deal of time trying to identify runes on prehistoric pottery to demonstrate the "authentic German origins" (Arnold and Hassmann 1995: 78). The prehistoric record would bend or flex to fit the goals of the Nazi party was actively used by archaeologists during the time of the Third Reich.

Currently in Guatemala, the "quetzal" is the currency. The Quetzal is the national bird of Guatemalan as well as the symbol of power and success for the ancient Maya royalty who wore their feathers as headdresses. The currency for Guatemala is a mix of ancient Maya symbols, drawings, and glyphs along with generals, past presidents and famous buildings in the capital city. What is the history and identity of the Guatemalan? Is it an army general dressed as an ancient Maya royal king in full regalia with quetzal feathers standing in front of the national palace? Ancient Maya symbols permeate a great deal of Guatemalan society, yet the living Maya are often played down as the descendants of the ancient Maya, while some Ladinos tend to claim direct heritage to the ancient Maya..

Arnold (2002:409) calls for German archaeologists to learn from the abuses of the archaeological record between 1933-1945. Post-war German archaeology suffers from a "theoretical void in West German archaeology and the exclusively Marxist perspective of East German archaeology (Arnold and Hassmann 1995: 70).

Archaeologists from Germany need to acknowledge their role in prehistory from 1933 to 1945 and learn from it. For example, Arnold explains that,

> attempts to give all interested parties an equal voice, irrespective of whether their claims can be supported by the empirical evidence, can lead to only one outcome: if all opinions are equally valid, the group best able to stifle the opposition will be the group whose opinion becomes dominant. This is the definition of a dictatorship (2002:408).

She feels this loss of empirical evidence and inclusion of a confusion of voices is what occurred during the Third Reich. It is extremely difficult to weigh all opinions as equally valid, but this example demonstrates the danger but also the value of multivocality. If we only hear from one group, this could be the dominate dictatorship. Yet, if others want their opinions weighed equally, could serious disagreements follow? In a perfect world, we hope that all opinions can be valued; however reality shows us that multivocality is extremely difficult. The lessons learned from Nazi archaeology demonstrate that multivocality can also be used in a negative manner to abuse and 'mine' the past. Yet, could the Pan-Mayan Movement, the 2012 groups, Aj'q'ij, and archaeologists also be mining the past for the best representative story for their argument?

The Archaeological Park: Bosnian Pyramid of the Sun at Visoko, Bosnia

Another archaeological event that is currently happening and has ties to Mesoamerica is in Visoko, Bosnia (Bosnia Pyramid). Semir "Sam" Osmanagich, a Bosnian American from Houston, Texas, claims there are pyramids as large or larger then those in Latin America and Egypt. Osmanagich, who identifies himself as a Maya expert based on his book *The World of the Maya*, a version of his doctoral

dissertation from Sarajevo University, which speaks to the Maya origins of Atlantis and connections with extraterrestrial civilization. The recent excitement of the pyramids has the local community in large support. Yet, archaeologists and even the Washington Post (May 8, 2006) are considering them plausible.

Osmanagich, originally trained in Political Science and Economics at the University of Sarajevo is now researching for his PhD in Maya Civilizations at the University of Sarajevo as well. He has spent time since the 1980's studying and researching in Central and South America and the American Southwest. Now his focus is on the excavation of the Visoko Pyramids, which he has called the Pyramid of the Sun, Pyramid of the Moon and Pyramid of the Dragon. The Pyramid excitement is spreading as the local population is getting involved; making miniature pyramids and even a local hotel was renamed Pyramid hotel (Smith, C 2006). Newspapers worldwide have gone to visit the current day Indiana Jones. The New York Times reports that Osmanagic:

> is convinced that he has discovered a huge ancient pyramid that will rewrite the history of Europe — not to mention that of Bosnia, a country suffering from war recriminations, political divisions and sunken pride. Anthropological genetics, he said, has proved that Bosnia is "the second oldest oasis of life in Europe," and the pyramid proves Bosnia is a source of civilization on the Continent. "It's not just any pyramid," he said from beneath his flat-crowned Navajo hat, which has led the local press to liken him to Indiana Jones. "It's the biggest pyramid in the world" (Smith, C 2006).

However, in the same article, Zilka Kujundzic-Vejzagic, a specialist in prehistoric archaeology at the National Museum in Sarajevo, is interviewed. Kujundzic-Vejzagic is one of the twenty-one experts who published a letter in the Bosnian newspapers

claiming that Ozmanagic's project is bad science (Smith, C 2006). She explains that his pyramids were really formed millions of years ago as part of an ancient lake bed that buckled due to tectonic movement of the earth's crust. Kujundzic-Vejzagic explains that geologists understand that the lake bed broke into pieces when Africa was pushed into Europe and these pieces were like an ice floe colliding at the edges forming flat-sided hills (Smith, C 2006).

Despite the backlash, Osmanagich continues. He has formed The Archaeological Park: Bosnian Pyramid of the Sun at Visoko, dedicated to understanding and excavating the supposed ancient pyramids. The Archaeological Park foundation believes that "only a multi-disciplinary approach, with serious scientific argumentation on an internationally recognized level will yield a successful realization of the Bosnian Pyramids project" (Archaeological Park Report 2006). This team will include archaeologists, geophysicists, geologists, paleontologists, anthropologists and mining engineers. Excavation began in April 2006 for seven months. With money raised from local businesses and government for the work, Osmanagich hopes the Bosnia National government will put the project into their national budget for 2007 (Smith, C 2006).

When Osmanagich first saw the pyramids in 2005, he said the geometric sides were enough for him. However, with satellite imaging of the area (Landsat, Radarsat, Hyperion, Ikonos) he claims that he has documented proof that there are five hills where two or more sides are in triangular form. Some of these hills even maintain flat sides with stair step features and plateaus on the tops of the hills (Archaeological Park

Report 2006:2). Also, “measurements made by the Geodetic Institute of Bosnia and Herzegovina suggest that northern portion of Visocica/Bosnian Pyramid of Sun is forming a geometric feature of triangle, with equal sides of 365 meters and inner angles of 60 %” (Archaeological Park Report 2006:2). This pyramid is also said to be aligned to the cardinal directions, with the north side aligned to the North Star, like that of the Egyptian Pyramids and were built as early as the Ice Age.

The results of core drilling and limited trenching demonstrate that the surface of the large mound is “comprised of layered sandstone and breccia blocks, which appear to have been manually processed and/or cut to fit the required dimensions” (Archaeological Park Report 2006:7). It is also believed there is manmade cement between the blocks, and the order of the blocks themselves demonstrates they were man made. Radar analysis (RADARSAT and SPOT) suggest to Osmanagic that there are buried passageways, entrances, chambers or terraces inside the structure. The military of Bosnia supports this theory. During heavy shelling from 1992-1995, the military explained that “acoustic evidence” demonstrates there are cavities and chambers inside the structure (Archaeological Park Report 2006:12).

Although the scientific community is not supporting the amateur archaeologist, the local community is excited and ready to redefine their history. Zlatko Bekbic from the town of Tuzla in Northeastern Bosnia tells the New York Times, “After all the blood and mass graves, this gives people something positive to talk about” (Smith, C 2006). With the same message, Asim Izlamovic, a 67-year-old excavator for the project who lost a leg during the war, explains that "we are

changing the image of the whole country. We're showing Bosnia in a good way" (Smith, C 2006). The excavation that began in April 2006 started when excavators came across flat stone blocks. These megaliths, some over 40 tons, Osmanagic claims date back to the Ice Age when these pyramids were built. Yet, archaeologist Kujundzic-Vejzagic says that humans were not even building simples huts during this time and the only evidence from the end of the Ice Age are flint tools followed by simple Neolithic settlements that appeared thousands of years later (Smith, C 2006). However, with Pyramid Fever growing, the official Bosnian Pyramid Website, TV shows, and newspaper articles, Ozmanagic is receiving a great deal of coverage. This coverage has led to the approval from the government to excavate for five years. This work also has the support of the local community. Overall, it maybe extremely difficult to disprove these giant pyramids without "a large and costly excavation, allowing an enduring and alluring mythology to grow up around the hill" (Smith, C 2006). The project in Bosnia may prove to be a large example of Community Archaeology involving professional archaeologists, amateur archaeologists, local communities, national governments, museums and the international community watching. It raises questions about all of the ethical codes, the foundation to which archaeology is built, and where the archaeological profession is going in the future.

Learning from the Bosnia example is complicated. Putting the rock facts and dates aside and superimposing only the project, motivation, and funding on top of any other archaeology project would be feasible and probably successful. The community is getting involved through excavation, tourism, souvenirs and claiming this can heal

the war-torn tarnished past, this example could be Bosnia or Guatemala. How as archaeologists are we supposed to choose the stories to tell without damaging relationships within a community? Do we take all interpretations as equally valid? Is there room for contradictory realities? Can the local community be proven wrong? These questions are almost unanswerable. The fact is, as archaeologists, in order to provide the most accurate scholarship we have to choose the facts and stories in which are training has taught us are correct. In the case of Bosnia, there is room for a contested and contradicting reality than the one Ozmanagic is uncovering. Professional archaeologists are speaking out against him. They could possibly loose support of national or local interest groups and communities but the archaeologists in this situation had to weigh what was more important, the truth they believed to be accurate for world history or the relationship with the people.

Multivocality is extremely difficult. There are many different ideas as to what community archaeology can be. This has demonstrated that one truth of community archaeology is practically impossible and even a few truths grouped in one category is hard because there are extremely opposing ideas, even among the scholarship on the Maya. Community archaeology should be focused on the archaeologists and the community with which they are working: a collaborative relationship where all sides have open communication and equal footing in decisions and both stand to benefit. Including many voices is difficult but forces one to be extremely reflexive and identify their own biases, and shortcomings. This demands that archaeology enter into the modern world and practice archaeology more responsive to the local

communities. Also as professional archaeologists we need to be on the forefront and publish well informed websites and work to inform the public about our work, not just the academic community. If we ourselves do not do this and only write within our field, others will do it for us…and are. Nazi Germany, the 2012 movement and the Bosnian Pyramid are just a few examples, but it is their information that is on the web and the most accessible to the public.

Yet, providing information is one step, what happens when community archaeology produces great conflict, such as in the case of the Nazi's? Maybe the pan-Maya movement is heading in a similar direction in that their history they choose to help them revitalize their culture and identity will be at odds with the national governments idea of history. When and how do we decide if the local community should be privileged over the national or international community? Community and collaborative archaeology provides an entire new set of challenges to archaeologists, with the most important being multivocality, how should it be evaluated or addressed? If we can find ways to excavate together, work together, and have common harmony we have a successful collaborative project but what happens when we have conflicting interpretations? What happens when these conflicting interpretations are contradicting to a majority of the community's religious ideas? These questions are absolutely essential to approach before working with a community. The first examples of successful community archaeology projects provide insight on how to incorporate many voices and opinions. Yet, 2012, Bosnia and Nazi Germany demonstrate that community archaeology can also create

contradicting opinions and that community archaeology is not possible or correct in every situation.

Incorporating a true altruistic multivocal archaeology is impossible. There are so many voices and many contradicting. Archaeologists cannot be responsible for including every voice in their publications and reports on site excavations. Finding the safe ground between insufficient voices and too many voices in multivocality is extremely difficult but is something that each archaeologist may have to consider at each project, if it can be done at all.

Chapter 3
Tecpan, Chimaltanango
Iximche, Mixco Viejo, Utatlan, Kaq Jay and Xekojil

Tecpan, Guatemala is located on the Pan-American Highway 90 kilometers from Guatemala City in the heart of Kaqchikel country (Fisher and Hendrickson 2003). Located in the center of the highlands Tecpan could be described as a traditional Maya community with over 70% of the population speaking Kaqchikel Maya and a majority of the women in the community wear the traditional Maya clothing of the *huipil (p'ot)* and *corte (uq')* (Fisher and Hendrickson 2003). At over 7000 feet high it is cold compared to the rest of the country, although some days can reach 80˚F it is not uncommon to find frost or ice in the morning. It is known as the *tierra fria* and is home to many vegetables (broccoli, corn, beans, snow peas and cabbage) grown for home use but the majority is exported to the United States (Fisher and Hendrickson 2003).

The main town center of Tecpan, Guatemala. (Fig 2)

Similar to the rest of Guatemala, Tecpan is a resilient community. Suffering a terrible earthquake in 1976 that destroyed many buildings including part of the Catholic Church, the people of Tecpan began to rebuild. But in the early 1980s the ravages of the civil war reached Tecpan when the town priest was shot and killed outside the parish house in May of 1981 (Fisher and Hendrickson 2003). In the November to follow guerrilla troops invaded the town for a few hours and damaged the police stations, stores and cities hall. The army soon arrived and established a garrison in the town square that lasted for eight years. Caught between the government military and the guerillas, many Maya were killed, tortured and accused of supporting one or the other. Many in Tecpan were also taken in for questioning and tortured in the garrison, while others just disappeared. This extremely difficult time

drove many Tecpanecos to flee to the capital city in 1981 and 1982 (Fisher and Hendrickson 2003).

The Maya people today are attempting to overcome the past and through the Maya Movement, *El Consejo De Autoridades Ajq'ija',* indigenous defense organizations, and many Maya are rebuilding and now demonstrating their culture and identity. Now, Tecpan is a thriving small city with over 40,000 residents in the entire *municipio* of Tecpan with over 10,000 people living in the town center (Fisher and Hendrickson 2003 based on 1994 census data). With multiple shopping centers, internet centers, movie rentals and small fast food restaurants, Tecpan has rebuilt once again.

In Tecpan, there are a host of religious communities including a strong population of Catholics and Evangelicals. It is common have standing room only for Sunday morning or evening mass at the Catholic Church. Simultaneously, many Evangelical churches are appearing and have growing congregations. Yet, there is also a large and growing population of traditional Maya religion. This is the area of the community where I focused my research, primarily due to interest and because my research in Tecpan began with my friend and Kaqchikel teacher, Pakal Balam. Pakal is very active in Maya language revitalization and the Maya Movement. Experiencing Tecpan through his guidance definitely revealed the Maya side of Tecpan. Although I attended Catholic mass in Tecpan, I do not have an overall good understanding of the overall strength of the Catholic or Evangelical churches in Tecpan, only that they exist and have strong presences in the community. Focusing

on the traditional Maya religion of Tecpan unveiled ideas about archaeology, Maya identity and the Maya movement.

The *Consejo De Autoridades Ajq'ija'* is an example of the thriving traditional Maya religion that is growing in Tecpan. Ajq'ija' want to practice their beliefs and religion while also protecting the rights of their people. Frequently, ajq'ija' go to Iximché to perform ceremonies. Iximché, the archaeological site is located three kilometers from the center of Tecpan. Also, Tecpan and Iximché often serve as a base for the political Maya Movement which seeks to defend and promote Maya rights and heritage, including the celebration of Waxaqi B'atz the Maya New Year, which has thirty to forty Maya priests attend and perform one ceremony at Iximché. It was this link between current living Maya and the ancient Maya archaeological sites that I hoped to understand.

Understanding of living Maya and their past began with Pakal and his large collection of ancient May artifacts. Collecting for years from neighbors, friends, and families, Pakal wanted to protect and collect the heritage of his people.

Ceramic and stone artifacts found in the Tecpan area, stored in the house of Pakal Balam. (Fig. 3,4).

In June and July of 2005, Pakal Balam started his dream, the museum Kumatzim Jay or "Casa del Diseño Serpenteado" (Serpent Design House) (Balam 2006). The museum was named after the ceremonial huipil design from Tecpan, a serpent design represented by an up and down zigzag line across the huipil, often times referred to as *rij p'ot* (Hendrickson 1995; Fisher and Hendrickson 2003: 111). Inside the main room of Pakal's house, which serves as the museum, some artifacts are arranged along a wooden platform in the same zigzag line of the huipil. Many other artifacts line the walls on top of display cases and tables. The brochure for the museum and the website provide information about the museum, including its vision to provide education, to conserve and celebrate the culture and history of the Maya, the Kaqchikel in particular. Also, available are guides for this museum and the site of Iximché, along with classes offered in Kaqchikel and Spanish. This museum is a symbol of the possibilities for what Maya communities can achieve, by integrating their past and present stories and creating a dialogue. The museum currently is supported and funded by Pakal and his family, but they charge an entrance fee to foreigners of about two or three American dollars.

This past summer (2006), students from the Universidad de San Carlos in Guatemala City spent a few weeks in Tecpan, documenting, drawing and categorizing the many statues, stone monuments, ball court makers, and pottery pieces that Pakal and his family have collected over the years. The work on this project was finalized in November 2006 and was added to the databases with the Institute for Archaeology and History (IDEAH). This collaboration of ideas, talents, and cultures is a wonderful

example of community archaeology. The artifacts will stay at Kumatzim Jay and Pakal openly welcomes archaeologists and others to study them. This open relationship, where the stakeholders (archaeologists, government, and local Kaqchikels) all have a voice and this multivocal project so far is working.

Iximché

Iximché, the ancient capital of the Kaqchikels, is an archaeological ruin to some and a dynamic worship space for others. Located just a mile and a half south of Tecpan, at over 2000meters high, the site is on a high leveled plateau containing two ball courts and four large plazas and two small plazas surrounded by structures and pyramids (Guillemin 1967:23, 27). Once a fortified city with painted polychrome stucco walls, Iximché stands as a quintessential example of a Postclassic highland city. The country of Guatemala was named after this Kaqchikel capital in the early 1500s. Spanish commander Pedro de Alvadrado reported to Hernán Cortes in Mexico that the place of *Cuauhtemalan* (the *Nahual* name for Iximche) would be the first European settlement in Central America.

The Kaqchikel have inhabited the region prior to the conquest with a large part of their history recorded in the Annals of the Cakchiquels (Villacorta 1934, Guillemin 1967: 25; Nance, Whittington and Borg 2003: 1). The Annals of the Cakchiquels is an account of the Kaqchikel history before and during the conquest. Written by Kaqchikels after the conquest it is filled with picturesque images of the wars between the Kaqchikels and the Spanish. It also contains many names of tribes, kings and lineages similar to the book of Chronicles in the Bible, a sort of scribal

history. Utilizing a Long Count calendar similar but not the same of the Classic Maya, the annals provide time frames such as the founding of Iximché by the dual rulers Huntoh and Vukubatz in 1470 A.D. (Guillemin 1967: 25). Also the book describes a revolt of the Tukuché (one of the branches of the Kaqchikel) against Iximché on May 18, 1493 (Villacorta 1934, Nance, Whittington and Borg 2003: 1). The book also recounts many battles with the K'iche'[4] of Utatlan. The Kaqchikels allied with the Spanish and, defeating their enemies the K'iche', they returned back to Iximché to have the Spanish turn on them. The Kaqchikel abandoned the city, but warred with the Spanish, until Spanish soldiers deserted the city on February 7, 1526 and destroyed it by fire. Warfare ended finally in 1530, and during this era the Kaqchikel began paying tribute to the Spanish, but soon the city of Iximché was left to ruin (Nance, Whittington and Borg 2003:2). The Annals of the Cakchiquels is a reference for understanding the conquest period of Guatemala; however, it should be recognized that this account has a large amount of personal bias and mostly likely was heavily influenced by the Spanish (Villacorta 1934). Yet, it provides an account from the Kaqchikel viewpoint of pre-conquest Guatemala and the events during the Spanish invasion.

There is a small museum located at the entrance of the archaeological park that provides diagrams of the site and a few artifacts with connection to the Olmec and Central Mexico. In 2004 there was a small exhibit featuring Maya textiles. An 8x10 black and white photo of Doña Juana, Pakal's mother, at her loom was featured

[4] K'iche' is often found as Quiché prior to language standardization.

as an image of a master weaver. Unfortunately in summer of 2006 this exhibit was no longer featured. At the entrance to the ruins, a man dressed in a green uniform with an IDEAH patch asked us to pay an entrance fee. Pakal quickly talked with him and the man let us all pass. Usually the pay structure is as follows: Guatemalans pay Q5.00 and Foreigners pay Q25.00.

Iximché is one of the few highland sites that has been studied with any amount of great detail. Early information about the site is known from the recorded history in the Annals of the Caqchikels, and recorded visits by Pedro de Alvarado and Bernal Díaz Castillo in the 1500s (Villacorta 1934, Alvarado in Carmack 1973: 92-93 and Diaz 1927 in Carmack 1973: 93). Throughout the following centuries, many others would include Iximché in their writings. Francisco Antonio Fuentes y Guzmán were early Central American explorers described the ruins and created a map (Carmack 1973, Nance, Whittington and Borg 2003: 12). Stephens and Catherwood, who visited in 1840, described the Kaqchikel people of Tecpan processing to Iximché for Good Friday. These accounts demonstrate that strong cultural connections between the local community and the ancient even in the early 20th century (Guillemin 1967).

Archaeological work at Iximché has been completed in several phases. Between 1958 and 1972, George Guillemin excavated eight full seasons and focused on the ceremonial/elite area. Sadly, Guillemin died before he could write all of his findings. Guillemin did publish several articles about Iximché and the excavations in

English and Spanish[5] before his death. Many of the artifacts were stored inside the Iximché caretakers house until 1985 when Roger and Vally Nancy began to salvage Guillemin's collection (Nance, Whittington and Borg 2003: 4). Stephen Whittington took over the physical anthropology of the project in 1989 (Nance, Whittington and Borg 2003: 7). The collaboration of Nance and Whittington, along with other scholars, helped to salvage a great deal of Guillemin's work, even though over the years many artifact bags had decomposed, leaving proveniences at times a nightmare. While Nance and Whittington did not excavate the site of Iximché, they thoroughly analyzed all of the artifacts previously collected, the publications, unpublished notes, human remains and maps, and created a more complete picture of Iximché. Nance and Whittingon's overall goals were to understand and piece together Guillemin's. Their work, completed 30 years after Guillemin's, probably had different results then if Guillemin finished the work himself due to different technologies and methodologies in archaeology.

The ruins of Iximché feature four main plazas with multiple large temples and housing structures, as well as two I-shaped ball courts and a moat (now totally filled in) eight meters deep, acted as an added defense (Guillemin and Nance, Whittington and Borg 2003). From the excavation, Plaza A and B should be compared to Plaza C and Placita C. In each of the

> two-plaza complexes, there is a large ceremonial plaza to the west with two large facing temple pyramids aligned roughly east to west. There is a ball

[5] "Un Entierro Senorial En Iximche" Anales de la Sociedad Geografia e Historia Tomo XXXIV, Guatemala 1961, pp 89-105. "Iximché" Tipografia Nacional, Guatemala, 1965 and "The Ancient Cakchiquel Capital of Iximché" Expedition, pp 22-35, 1967

> court in the southwest corner of each of these western plazas and lower building platforms along the western and northern borders. Those to the west are associated with human sacrifice, each having a small southwestern annex with skulls of those sacrificed within or in close proximity. (Nance, Whittington and Borg 2003: 95).

Large hearths, altars, buildings aligned with the cardinal directions are also featured at Iximché. The Annals de los Caqchikels explains that Iximché was ruled by dual kings, and Guillemin suggests that the dual similarities between the two plaza complexes such as Plaza A and B with a ball court and the Plaza C and Placito C have a ball court and pyramids as well (Nance, Whittington and Borg 2003: 96, Villacorta 1934, Guillemin 1967).

Ball court at Iximché. (Fig 5).

Main temple in Plaza A at Iximché. (Fig 6).

Exploring the temples, ball court, and plazas with Pakal and his family the site offered an entirely different side to archaeological sites than I had previously experienced. The site was a union of past and present Maya identity as well as an invention of tradition. Pakal explained features of the landscape and ruins as we climbed. Although Pakal is not an archaeologist, he knows a fair amount about the history of the site and has explored it with Maya scholars such as David Friedel and Linda Schele. He pointed out faded plaster that still carried black pigmented pain in lines and dots on the side of the large temple in Plaza A. Yet, Pakal also explained the connection and his family have with Iximché. They are Kaqchikels, living, speaking and counting the days the same as the Kaqchikels who lived in this very location hundreds of years before, the same calendar and similar beliefs that have been in these very highlands for thousands of years. Having a sense of genealogy only to the 1850's my sense of family history felt very pedestrian.

At the far end of the Iximché ruins and down a small path surrounded by pines lay the altar spaces where Maya and *ajq'ij*a' come to pray. Pakal explained that only since the late 1980's have they been able to openly practice Maya ceremonies. In the past ceremonies were only held in secret. The ceremonies were kept secret due to the 36- year civil war in Guatemala that ended with the signing of the Peace Accords in 1996. The ritual area was a large hill with a few trees with large rocks piled in and around them. Around this was flat ground with small cement altars about 1 meter across, five to seven in total. Some of the altars still had lazy wisps of smoke drifting skyward from burnt candles, flowers, seeds, and pine bundles that had been offered that morning. This first visit to the ceremonial space at Iximché provided living proof for me of the Mayas' continual use, respect for, and connection with archaeological sites.

Over the next two years, each time I visited Guatemala, I made a visit to Iximché. It is such a special place. It is serene and quiet. I have witnessed a few ceremonies and was involved in *Waqxaqi b'atz* (this is the celebration of the end of the 260-day Cholq'ij or sacred calendar, the Maya New Year) on July 17, 2006.

Ceremony Waxaqi B'atz July 2006, Iximché (Fig 7).

The interplay between archaeology and the living Maya unfolds during the ceremony. The ceremonies located at Iximché are held there because of the connection with the ancestors. The ceremonies are spoken in a Maya language usually Kaqchikel but could be K'iche' as often K'iche' travel here for ceremonies. Some of the actions and ritual items the priests use during the ceremonies look similar to ancient Maya paintings. For example, the large fire the priests use to burn flowers, tobacco, seeds, candles and other offerings of food and alcohol. In the beginning of the ceremony the priests bless the heart of sky, heart of earth, heart of wind and heart of water, the same four spirits as found in the Popul Vuh (Edmonson 1971, Tedlock 1996). As the ceremony continues the Aj'q'ij calls to all of the Maya speaking languages (K'iche', Mam, Kaqchikel, Chort'i, Yucatec etc.) to unify the people, and next calls to the ancestors of Chichen Itza, Palenque, Tikal, Piedras Negras, Iximché, K'umarcaaj and

more. The main part of the ceremony is the count of the days from the ritual Cholqi'j (Tzolk'in in Yucatec) calendar. This is the most important part of the ceremony as those present can ask for certain needs during the specific days of the calendar. For example the month Kawoq is the day for healers, doctors and Aj'qij, so a person can ask for help in sickness or help in finding their pathway. Another example is Kamey which is the month for death. This is a very important month as it symbolizes the times we must remember our ancestors. During these times a person can throw offerings into the fire and be blessed by the aj'q'ij. Iximché is currently a place of Maya identity. Not the same Maya identity as when it was built in the late 1400's but a new modern Maya identity. Yet, this is not the only archaeological site that is utilized by modern Maya; there are many archaeological locations and sites in the Guatemalan highlands that are host to similar experiences.

Utatlan/ K'umarcaaj/Q'umarkaj

Sun splashed through the pine tree boughs down to the grass covered ancient mounds as Pakal and I were discussing the layout of the ancient city of K'umarcaaj, also known as Utatlan, located in the K'iche' region, near Santa Cruz del Quiche. (Guillemin 1967, Carmack 1981, Sharer and Traxler 2006: 623). Utatlan is comprised mostly of weathered stone and earthen mounds claimed by grass and trees. Though Utatlan has never been fully restored, the layout of the plaza, temples, and ball court are evident. The excavations that occurred have "identified the approximate extent of [Utatlans] expanded realm from the distribution of Postclassic pottery and architectural association with the K'iche state" (Sharer and Traxler 2006: 625).

Excavations have been carried out by archaeologists such as Dwight Wallace (1977), John Weeks (1981), and recently Micaela Raquel Macario Cálgua (2002-2004). A small museum is located at the entrance of the archaeological site and provides information on the history of the site and a historically documented lineage of the Kaqchikel and K'iche' Maya people. A long wooden glass display case held the skeleton of a body that was exhumed from the site. It was displayed in funerary

Exhumed body displayed in the Utatlan museum with small offering display. (Fig 8).

fashion as a body laid on it's back articulated with artifacts of importance surrounding the body. What acutely demanded my attention was the small half a meter high and half a meter wide metal altar that had been placed in front of the display case. Resting in honor upon the altar were melted candles and a few dried

flowers. These gifts had been placed here to respect the soul of the person that once lay in Maya grounds, now placed in the museum. Death for the Maya is a celebration of the person's life and many Maya today usually have large funerals for two or three days if it can be afforded. The person is laid to rest often in the community cemetery with a grave and many flowers. Often the grave is visited multiple times a year and new flowers are laid or planted at the grave site.

Utatlan was built in the 1400's and is the Late Postclassic capital of the K'iche' Maya. This city paralleled in function to Iximché. The city's importance is described in the *Popol Vuh* (Edmondson 1971, Tedlock 1996, Sharer and Traxler 2006: 625, Carmack 1981). Reportedly founded in the early fifteenth century by Q'uq'umatz (Feathered Serpent), much of the city was destroyed due to Pedro Alvarado's conquests of the city in 1524 (Sharer and Traxler 2006: 623, Guillemin 1967, Edmondson 1971, Tedlock 1996). While walking through the swaying grass to the large decaying Tojil temple (Carmack 1981: 221) I noticed many melted candle bits, seeds, dried honey, dried flowers, and firecracker wrappers strewn about a small circular cement alter, and resting on the broken stones of a once great temple. The crumbling exposed rock wall stood about four meters high and two meters feet wide. All over its base and exposed rock wall laid melted candles. One small fire was still smoldering. This ancient city still plays host to many Maya who practice the syncretistic indigenous religion. Under the canopy of trees behind the grass covered ball court Pakal explained that there was a network of caves running beneath this section of the site. Walking through the trees and mounds, we rounded a corner.

Smoke was filling the canopy air from a cliff below. I slowly followed the footpath down the incline about thirty meters. At the mouth of a large cave in a clearing was a ajq'ij (Maya priest) stirring a roaring fire with a long stick.

We continued down the path and I noticed that three meters behind the priest was another equally large fire was. Speaking in K'iche', the ajq'ij switched from fire to fire, spreading seeds, honey, alcohol, dried flowers and other special items into the flames. There were about thirty others in attendance of the ceremony about two men for each woman, along with a few young boys and two babies. All of the women were dressed in traditional *traje.* The men wore jeans and t-shirts or button up shirts. In this it is evident that it is usually the women that maintain Maya tradition through their dress as well as passing their language on to their children. I have witnessed this living with and among the indigenous Maya (Hendrickson 1995). The people smiled and were friendly; those near me motioned us to stay and sit down.

The ceremonial area was a wide, dirt oval that led up to the cave mouth, which was about 2.5 meters tall and 1.5 meters wide. Most of the audience was positioned to the right of the cave mouth, about three to four meters away from the fires, watching, with some sitting on blankets. A few others were resting along the bottom of the path that I had entered upon. I stood listening closely to the priest, picking up a few words that are similar to Kaqchikel Maya. The priest himself was in his mid-sixties, with grey hair falling slightly from beneath a plaid fabric wrap he wore on his head. Worn jeans and a thin plaid, button up shirt completed his clothing. In his kit, which lay on the ground, I observed an array of bottles, baggies, seeds, and

firecrackers. One other couple, Ladinos, due to their western clothing, sunglasses, and behavior, came upon the ceremony and were immediately welcomed. They stayed to watch for awhile before quietly departing.

The ceremony continued, with the priest stirring ingredients from his kit into the fire. The flames would leap high when he added alcohol, seeds, and soda and then settle low again. The smoke rose in bellows along the cave wall and up into the canopy above us.

Maya aj'q'ij tending to a ceremony in Utatlan. (Fig 9).

The participants watched. Some seemed to speak to themselves or quietly whisper to a neighbor. After half an hour, the priest ended the ceremony by throwing many firecrackers into the flames and creating quite a large amount of noise. Following this, most of those in the audience-the participants- followed the priest into the cave as the fire diminished. Two men approached Pakal and me welcomed us in Spanish. They inquired if we wanted to enter the cave and view the altar inside. They

explained to me that this was a ceremony for a family member that they had organized and paid for, but did not elaborate further. Ceremonies are said to be held here weekly, monthly, or daily, depending on what people in the surrounding community need. We entered into the cave and walked about 15 meters into darkness and thick smoke. Deep in the cave there were six other cave mouths leading in other directions. There was a small collection of lit and melted candles where all the mouths intersected. We left the cave, chatted briefly with the men, and thanked them for the rich experience. We then made our way back to the main plaza of the ruins.

A few minutes later, all those involved in the ceremony participated in a small procession following the priest, who carried with an incense burner, to the temple I had stood before an hour earlier. They set up more candles and the priest began facing different directions as the participants in the procession gathered around. As we left the ruins, the procession moved towards the entrance of the ruins and the parking lot. As we exited Utatlan, Pakal explained to me, they would either process back into town a mile away or dissipate. Usually funerals and weddings will travel through town all day, but smaller ceremonies may not.

This Maya ceremony, my first Maya ceremony, was a tremendous stimulus to my research on the use of archaeological sites as ritual space for the living Maya. It confirmed many of my thoughts and ideas. Creating archaeological connections with living Maya and investigating their modern culture through the eyes of a Westerner creates interesting sets of cultural meanings. I immediately believed the living Maya connected with their ancient history by praying on ancient Maya cities. Their

ceremony demonstrated their identity as Maya and politically demonstrated their freedoms to pray and practice where they want.

The newly genuine, authentic tradition as so defined by the community is occurring in the present. It is transformed and substituted over time, changing as the culture changes. This plays heavily into the Mayan ceremony that I witnessed. All over the highlands of Guatemala, indigenous Maya religion is blossoming now that it not actively discouraged by the government. The government has even placed many cement altars at archaeology sites for Maya priests to utilize for ceremonies. These ceremonies and traditions are being reinvented by and for the people to enrich and assert their culture and define their identity.

The Maya Movement in Guatemala is increasing in size, especially in the highlands (Montejo 2005). With the 1996 United Nations sanctioned Peace Accords, (UN 1997**)** the indigenous Maya are experiencing greater freedom now than since the Conquest. Free to speak their own languages, practice indigenous religions, and receive educations, they are working towards defining their own culture. A large part of that is practicing Maya traditions. It is the ongoing invention of these traditions that define the Maya as a living culture in the present and not in the past. Handler and Linnekin (1984) believe that "the origin of cultural practices is largely irrelevant to the experience of tradition. Authenticity is always defined in the present" (286). The invention of tradition is based within the people who utilize historical and current references to create the traditions. The Maya ceremony I witnessed is important in the present, and the origins of how it began were never discussed or even given thought

during the ceremony. That is not what currently helps to define the Maya culture. Rather, the current tradition as it is defined today. Hanson (1989) explains that people drive change. He describes, "the versions of history and tradition espoused by the people we study….the "invention of tradition" approach is one of its sign-substitutions..." (Hanson 1989: 212), which means it is native people who utilize the traditions that anthropologists study, therefore, the change of tradition lies within the change of the people. Specifically, each tradition is created by the people and is given its meaning in the present, and "there is no culture-free position from which any cultural tradition can be described. Any cultural tradition is itself always already embedded in the same or some other cultural tradition" (Hanson 1989: 208). For example, Hanson worked with the Maori, who are interested in creating a "distinctive Maori identity in the contemporary formulation that is Maoritanga" (Hanson 1989: 212). In order to create their identity they rely on cultural traditions that are embedded within their own culture and their own identities.

Hanson's fieldwork revealed that a Maori youth claimed the Tama-Te-Kapua house is 600-700 years old, when the actual materials of the house date to 1870. Hanson explains that this youth is not lying about the house's age, but rather is correct in his cultural context, for a sector of his community believes this house to be an ancestor that is 600-700 years old. This discourse of Maori culture is correct and can be empirically studied through surveys, library research, and interviews (Hanson 1989: 210-211). Utilizing the word of the Maori youth within the proper contexts, Hanson acknowledges the people are what drive the invention of tradition and

therefore culture. Hanson believes, “Anthropologists observe that the peoples they study are often engaged in a struggle to define a distinctive cultural heritage with which they may identify, as a step toward unifying and empowering themselves in order to improve their economic, social, and political position” (Hanson 1989: 212-213). People are the driving force of cultural change, for they want to improve their life and “one can understand only oneself” (Hanson 1989: 209). The Maya are inventing their traditions based on historical facts, the remembered past, syncretic religion, and social, economic, and the political factors that influence them daily. The Maya ajqi’ja’ are not the same as the ancient Maya priests from Kaminaljuyu, Tikal or even the postclassic Iximché. However, this does not make the living cultures authenticity any less relevant or real as the ancient culture. Archaeologists must be aware that the Maya are expressing themselves and identifying strongly with their heritage, and to work in these sacred locations we must work with the local community.

Mixco Viejo

After hours of driving on extremely curvy, skinny roads through the volcanic highlands, we arrived at Mixco Viejo. It is located 60 kms from Guatemala City, but the drive seemed like an eternity. The area was gorgeous. Long views over hills and small rural settlements splashed over mountains. Set in the middle of a large valley, Mixco Viejo is situated prominently on the top of five or six hills. It was easy to understand why the Kaqchikels chose their home here; it was beautiful. I had to pay 25 quetzales to enter the site and we wandered around the park. Pakal, Ixchel, and

their son Pakalito, were walking on the monuments, investigating the ball court, and gaining their perspective about the Maya ancestry.

Main temples and plaza with current Maya priest cement altar recently added by the Guatemalan government. (Fig 10).

Mixco Viejo is located near the contemporary city and department capital of Chimaltenango. The ancient city dates to the Late Postclassic, with a known occupation from 1250-1525 A.D. Mixco Viejo was tied closely with Iximché. They are both Kaqchikel settlements, but this was the capital of the Chajoma Kaqchikel (Sharer and Traxler 2006: 625).

My visit to this archaeological site provided reinforcement that Maya people utilize archaeological sites for prayer. Two more altars were found at this site. These altars were the round, white, cement government-issued altars. Pakal explained that since many Maya came to pray here, the Ministry of Culture, which looks over the

archaeological sites placed cement altars at archaeological sites, so Maya priests could pray there without damaging any preexisting structures. We were some of the few visitors at the site that day. As I sat on top of a pyramid, I watched a mother and her child walk with baskets on their heads along a worn pathway from a village below this high plateau, through the ruins and down towards another village. This new and exciting archaeological place for me was something entirely different to those who live around it. It is an aspect of the landscape, a daily dose of what was, a reminder of something that archaeologists should investigate. The people who live in and around these sites know every stone, every inch of forest and hill. They should sought after for advice and information, much like they way ethnographers seek informants, not only as employees but as wells of knowledge.

***Kaq Jay* (Red House)**

The day was warm and pleasant as we turned off the main road near Patzicía (Pa Tz'i' Ya') to follow a long, twisted, dirt road out of place between the beautiful fields of corn, lettuce and cabbage. We stopped outside an area surrounded by a tall corrugated tin fence and knocked on the door. Pakal explained that we were going to a communal museum, *Kaq Jay (Red House)* also called *Cerritos Asuncion* a Mayan altar and a communal museum/worship place (Xicay Muy 2004: 6). A small boy of about seven or eight years cracked the door and spoke to Pakal, then shut it. Warm, dusty and questioning, a man and his wife in *traje* slowly opened the door. They cautiously invited us in. As we spoke in Spanish and Kaqchikel, I noticed to my right, and to my surprise, was a huge altar with carvings all along the side. This 1.5m x

1.5m block lay in a large hole that also contained two large burned areas with ancient and current Maya artifacts. I paid 5 quetzals to the family and explained that I could take pictures and investigate the stone when Ma Julian Buch Sirín (Xicay Muy: 2004: 6) started to explain the story, which a year later I found the same story written in a Kaqchikel publication, Kaqchi' Wuj.

The Kaq Jay altar near Tecpan, Guatemala. (Fig 11).

Offering of ancient ceramic vessels found in the area around Tecpan at the Kaq Jay altar. (fig 12).

Three years previous[6], as they were digging a well for water. Ma Julian Burch Sirin said: "*xub'ij chi ke ri ruk'ajol chi tikik'oto*"[7] (asked his sons to help), and as they dug the sons found a giant rock but "*man xetikïr ta ruma nïm ruwäch, nïm rupalem, ruma ri' k'o chi xkitanab'a kan ri kisamaj ri nab'ey q'ij*" (they were not able to move the large rock because it was so large, so they had to suspend their work that first day) (Xicay Muy 2004: 6). When Ma Julian arrived home, he wanted to know why the work was not finished. They showed him the large rock. The next day, Ma Julian decided to excavate the stone as much as possible. As they excavated around it, they discovered faces and drawings on the side of the rock and "*maya' taq ajilab'äl*" (Maya numbers) (Xicay Muy 2004: 6).. Ma Julian was not sure what to think of the rock, so he informed the Department archaeologist. Two archaeologists,

[6] February 21st 2007 will mark the five year anniversary the altar was found.
[7] All translations from Kaqchikel to English are mine.

one from the department of Chimaltenango and one from *Armita* (Guatemala City) along with the local mayor, were on the way to Kaq Jay when they got lost and were never able to show up. Next, Ma Julian revealed that he had had a dream the night before, informing him he should not let archaeologists take the stone away, for it belonged as a part of the community where anyone could come and use it. Ma Julian said "chuqa' ri rach'alal majun ketamab'al pa ruwi' ri maya' na'oj" (Don Julian and his family never knew about Maya thought) for they were Protestants (Xicay Muy 2004: 6). However, with the dreams and the signs, Ma Julian felt this was an extremely important stone that he should keep and protect because the Maya thought was already affecting his life. "Kaqjay rub'i', re b'i'aj re' xya'ox kan ruma ojer ri ruwi' taq kochoch ri winaqi' ja ri kaqxan…Cerritos Asuncion nb'ix chi re pa kaxlan tzij" (It's name is Kaq Jay, it was given because a long time ago our peoples' house was red, but it is called Cerritos Asuncion in Spanish) (Xicay Muy 2004: 6).

Now, about every two weeks, people will come and pray at the stone. Sometimes there are only a few and other times it will be an entire family. The stone was located in a shallow hole with earthen walls. As I walked around the stone, I noticed it was below my hip in height but about one meter across. I asked if I could take pictures and they gave me permission. As I took pictures, I tried to see the glyphs on the sides. On the side nearest to Pakal, it looked as possibly a Kan glyph and some serpent heads. In the middle on the top of the stone is a charred area with a large shallow hole, which Ma Julian explained was put there by some local ajq'ija' (Maya priests). Other artifacts had been placed along the walls of the hole in which the large

stone sat. Along one wall, a sort of cave had been carved out. Inside were many current day incensarios, little figurines and pots. However, mixed in with these and along other walls were manos, metates, and other carved stone figures that probably dated to the Postclassic era. As an archaeologist, my instinct was to pick up the pieces, study them, and learn their background, but I thought this would not have been appropriate. I was a guest in their home, they had trusted me enough to admit me this far. Pakal had explained that I was an archaeologist, but interested in collaborating with the local Kaqchikels. I knew non-Maya people had been here before, but community archaeology demands a certain reflexivity. It was important to acknowledge that I am an archaeologist but in working with Ma Julian and his family, hopefully I could return to study the altar and learn more about the artifacts they find in their fields. I felt at this point it was not my place to assert cultural patrimony and make them regret my presence. Cultural patrimony is very important for the heritage of Guatemala, yet it is also extremely important to the local people that identify with the artifacts themselves. This is the chasm which archaeologists and government officials need to understand and begin to close with the indigenous communities in Guatemala.

The summer of 2004, I was able to return to Kaq Jay with three archaeologists from the Chocolá project. I introduced archaeologists Juan Pablo Herrera, Federico Padres, and Margarita Cossich to Pakal and his family. Pakal, once again our ever faithful *K'amol B'ey* (tour guide), took us to Kaq Jay. Federico explained that by looking at one of the carvings sideways it looked like Tlaloc (a rain god from Central

Mexico) (Coe 1999). Federico currently at graduate student in Mesoamerican archaeology at the University of Pennsylvania and graduated from the University of San Carlos in Guatemala with a focus on Preclassic art in Mesoamerica, specifically of Chocolá. Juan Pablo, created a hand drawn visual map of the surrounding area and we discussed possible mounds, their orientation, and the layout of the location. We all agreed it was something that needed more documentation and hoped to pursue it in the future with the permission and support of Ma Julian, his family and the community. As of yet there is no official name for the site.

Xe K'oil

Just a few kilometers outside of Tecpan, but climbing up a rough dirt road and through fields of corn, cabbage, broccoli and more, we pulled up to the side of a steep hill with a small trail running between a corn field and a wheat field. At the top there was a small clearing and a large upright rock with carvings beneath a thatch roof that had fallen apart. All around the base of the rock were charred bits and burnt ground, the remains of Maya ceremonies. Behind the rock was a large metal fence with a water tank inside. As at Kaq Jay, this rock was found when they were digging for a well. The community wanted to use the area as a ceremonial area, so they used cement and cobbles to fasten the stone into the standing position that it is now, about 15 degrees from perfect upright position. A small rock that had been slightly carved and fastened down with rebar was located in front of this large carving.

The carvings on the large upright stone were easily noticeable, even though someone had traced some of the areas with white chalk or paint. The face of Tlaloc

jumped out at me immediately from the center, due to his big round eyes or goggles (Coe 1999). On the corners were two jaguar or serpent heads facing outwards. The stone was about 1.5 meters tall and under a meter at the widest. The location was beautiful. If one walked around the rock on this prominent position and looked at the countryside around, it was evident that this was a perfect place for ceremonies. Pakal said the stone had been found about five or six years before. However, the community likes to keep it quiet and private. Pakal said he did not know if archaeologists knew about this site or not. I was not able to find any published information about Xe K'oil.

The Xe K'ojil monument near Tecpan, Guatemala.

Local Community of Priests

After my initial two week visit to Guatemala in January 2004, I formulated many questions about the archeological sites and altars I had visited. These focused on understanding the ritual aspects of these locations and how archaeology concerned

the ajq'ija'. Again working with Pakal, he introduced me to three ajq'ija' in Tecpan. Pakal acted as interpreter, helped me to formulate questions and provided the important link to my acceptance by the priests.

Unfortunately, my electronic field notes and all pictures for this part of the research were lost when my laptop was stolen at gunpoint outside the Aurora Airport in Guatemala City in July 2004 the day I returned to the United States. The entire summer's field notes were taken. However, all interviews had been recorded on cassette tape, which were not taken. The overall goal of these interviews was to understand the archaeological sites, not only as an archaeologist, or from Pakal, a Maya who had lived in the United States for five years, but from local priests who utilized these sites frequently as sacred spaces.

Waykan was eager to share his altar with me and all of the divination items, candles, and tools he uses during ceremonies. He also explained that some of his statues found in and around Tecpan were of Prehispanic origin, made by the ancient Maya, their ancestors. Some of the artifacts were *manos and metates*, others were broken ceramics and some were replicas of statues. Waykan explained that he uses red beans for divination of the future, similar to tea leaves. When a person comes to talk with him one on one, they will sit in his alter room and explore the calendar, what their day means and what this brings them. Following this they will read the red beans to understand more. All of the three priests explained the count of the 260 day calendar, the Cholq'ij, and that it is the most important aspect for a Daykeeper (ajq'ij) and ceremonies. Aq'ab'al explained that usually when a private ceremony is held for

a person, it will be held on a day that coincides with their birthday or day of conception. It is this cycle of days that helps us understand our role in life; responsibility to remember, to remember our ancestors. Our job is to remember them and honor our ancestors and Kaji' K'at explained, to honor those who gave us life. The honoring of ancestors is the fundamental aspect of Maya spirituality.

Aq'ab'al explained the religious makeup of the town: mostly Catholics, but many evangelical Christians and some people practice a form of traditional Maya spirituality. Kaji' K'at said "Christianity is a religion with a great influence in the lives of many people but I believe many of them, of the Maya are very spiritual", hinting that some Catholics also practice Maya ceremonies. Most ceremonies are extremely synergistic including features from the Catholic religion such as crosses or even a sign of the cross, but they do not symbolize Christ but the four corners of the world, or the Heart of Sky, Heart of Earth, Heart of Water, and Heart of Wind. However, all three priests agreed that there is religious conflict towards Maya spirituality. Aq'ab'al explained that "every day they are there attacking, but most of it is politics, they just do not want to accept it, there are many people who do not like it (traditional Maya spirituality)." Yet, he continued that "most usually people do not bother them during ceremonies, it only happens occasionally. At times, negative opinions are printed in the newspapers about sacrificing chickens and the use of large fires, that is anti-Christian or works of the devil". The priests realize at times they face conflicting viewpoints but all agreed they want people to understand they do not

sacrifice people, they believe in one god, and want to remember and respect the ancestors and their people.

We focused our discussion on archaeology and discussed private altars such as Kaq Jay and Xe Kojil, in which Kaji' Kat' said it is good for archaeologists to know about these sites because "they are able to reconstruct them or at least conserve them better because many spiritual guides do not know what they have in their hands, they do not respect everything. It's ok, for me, but it depends on the opinion of each person because many spiritual guides will say 'No' because the foreigners to do not respect them (the objects)". Aq'aba'l felt archaeology was interesting and could offer details and information that are important to the Maya people however, he remarked that "the other side is they [archaeologists] come to the municipality and usually in English with only a small translations, and this is what we have come to know, only this". Kaji' K'at believes that archaeologists should look for the groups or organizations of the indigenous that represent all of the indigenous, but first consult with the town. On asking him what this group would be that would represent all the indigenous, he said he did not know, but contacting the group of priests was extremely important before excavating at Iximché. All priests also agreed that it was mandatory to hire community members to work at the site. Kaji' K'at also said that those with experience about the community should work with the archaeologists and learn from them and then should also be called upon to teach the community about archaeology. Kaji' K'at provided a strong outlook for collaboration between archaeologists and Maya aj'qija'. Overall, these interviews in the summer of 2004

provided a nice contrast to dialogues in Chocolá, due to the fact that 1) an archaeological excavation was not currently happening and 2) Maya spirituality, rights, and way of life is a great deal more public and present in Tecpan than in Chocolá.

In July 2006 a sign sponsored by Defensoria Indigena Wajxaqib' No'j hangs above the large altars at Iximché, asking for people not to take videos of the ceremonies and to respect the priests and people that come to pray. Another sign says this group is "presente en la lucha por la vida la justicia y la dignidad de los pueblos" (Present in the struggle for the life and the justice and the dignity of the people).

Ceremony Waxaqi B'atz July 2006, Iximché (Fig 7).

The public manifestation of Maya language, activism, and rights is extremely evident in Tecpan, even more so then two years previous in the summer of 2004. This group,

based in Quiche, is very active for indigenous rights in language, human rights, community issues and protection of traditional indigenous Maya spirituality. Their recent publication of Qatzij (our word) describes the practice and right of Maya priests and those who believe in traditional indigenous Maya spirituality to practice in their towns (Defensoria Indigena Wajxaquib' No'j 2006: 25).

It calls people to action to take pride in being Maya because "es el momento de darnos cuenta que han pasado muchos anos, que el sol esta naciendo de nuevo y la rueda del tiempo esta llegando al momento justo para el pueblo maya" (this is the moment to realize that many years have past and that the sun is born again and the wheel of the time is coming to the right moment for the Maya people) (Defensoria Indigena Wajxaquib' No'j 2006: 25). The two priests who wrote the article Kaji' Imox and B'eleje' K'at, are very politically active and strong in their call to action. They assert that Maya people should not face problems when practicing their religions. They believe it is their right and "si no podemos hacer valer nuestros derechos tampoco podremos contribuir al recibimiento del nuevo amanecer si seguimos teniendo una actitud pasiva" (if we do not make our rights valuable we will not be able to contribute to the new dawn (beginning) if we maintain our passive attitudes) Defensoria Indigena Wajxaquib' No'j 2006: 25).

The Organización del Consejo de Autoridades Ajq'ija' de Tecpan Guatemala, is a group that formed to protect and increase the rights of Maya people because:

> ya sea que estos estén en manos del gobierno o de particulares, pero en todo caso es patrimonio cultural-ceremonial del pueblo maya. Agregando que otra de las dificultades es que existe discriminación de parte de personas y grupos

> que ignoran la realidad cultural de Guatemala" (Defensoria Indigena Wajxaquib' No'j 2006: 26).
>
> (now these issues (rights) are in the hands of the government or of individuals, but it is a cultural - ceremonial patrimony of the Maya people. The other difficulty is that discrimination exists because of the people and groups that ignore the cultural reality of Guatemala)

Overall, the article focused on bringing Maya priests together to protect them and, and in so doing, gain rights and protect them from discrimination. Simultaneously, it asked that priests respect altars and archaeological/historic areas like Iximché.

The El Consejo De Autoridades Ajq'ija' has made many petitions requesting multiple wants and needs to the government branch of the Ministerio de Cultura y Deportes y la Dirección de Monumentos Prehispánicos y Colonio of Guatemala about their sacred sites. Some communities are asking for solutions between political issues and those that pray at Iximché, However, the group would specifically like "facilitar la participación de los Ajq'ija' en la excavación de los montículos que están en planes de excavación en el centro arqueológico Iximché" (to facilitate the participation of the Ajq'ija ' (daykeepers) in the excavation of the hills that are part of the excavation plans for the archaeological center at Iximché) (Defensoria Indigena Wajxaquib' No'j 2006: 29). The overall result is that the Government Ministry has promised: 1) to construct a gallery space for ceremonies and the priests, and 2) to redo the altar already present at the sacred site at Iximché. The Ministry will also sponsor creation of an advisory council for ceremonial places. However, there is no mention about the El Consejo De Autoridades Ajq'ija' to be involved in the archaeology of the site. This could be due to the fact that currently excavations are not active (Defensoria Indigena

Wajxaquib' No'j 2006: 29). This has created a situation where archaeologists can easily recognize the needs of the community and work to address them. This situation demonstrates the needs for archaeologists to interact with the community and seek out those such as the Tecpan Priests Organization who utilize these sacred sites. Approaching them first will more than likely have a better result and facilitate a collaborative effort.

Tecpan served as a starting place for me to become familiar with Kaqchikel Maya, Guatemala, and issues in the local archaeology. It served as a great starting point in building rapport with the local indigenous community and beginning to understand the practice of archaeology from a different perspective. Pakal and his family, along with Ma Julian, the priest, Aq'ab'al, Waykan, and Kaji' K'at, the ceremonies I witnessed, and archaeological spaces I visited revealed issues that archaeologists must confront. These objects of carved stone and ceramic are not just relics, but play an active role in the lives of many living Mayas. Iximché is a place for families to play soccer and eat lunch as well as to come to pray. The discovery and care of Kaq Jay transformed Ma Julian's life and now brings visitors to his home often, Xe Ko'il brought a members from the local town together to protect the stone and its private location which allows for small ceremonies and private prayers. Most of the priests and people I spoke with did not place great focus on the actual carvings or artifacts themselves, but rather the essence of them, the carvings are part of their heritage, relics of *Qati't Qamama'* (our ancestors).

The local communities that live on and around these archaeological spaces are funds of knowledge **(**Gonzalez et al 1993**)** to create a dialogue about history and the living Maya. Archaeologists are doing better incorporating indigenous contribution and control over their heritage. It is through examples and observations in Tecpan that it is evident. The living Kaqchikel Maya want to be involved in the telling of their past and their future. They are willing to work with archaeologists, and productive relationships between archaeologists and local communities are forming. Yet, the most interesting dynamic is the difference in public indigenous Maya life in Tecpan than in Chocolá. The community in Tecpan has come together to form indigenous defense leagues, and they utilize the Kaqchikel and K'iche' languages as sources of strength to connect to a wider Maya and non-Maya context. The people of Tecpan can empower other Maya, like the people of Chocolá to have a voice in their heritage.

Chapter 4
Chocolá

Chocolá is located in the Piedmont or *Bocacosta* region along the volcanic slopes of the Guatemalan Highlands situated just above the Pacific coastal plain of southwestern Guatemala. The area is a rich agricultural region for coffee and ethnohistorically in ancient times for cacao (Kaplan and Valdés 2004, Sharer 2006: 242, Lutz and Lovell 1990). Chocolá is a small town comprised primarily of K'iche' Maya residents, who migrated there in the late 1800s to work the coffee plantation. From 1887 through 1946, the town was administered by a German coffee company. After 1946 until the early 1980's the Guatemalan government owned the land. Currently this town's approximately 10,000 residents collectively own the surrounding agricultural land and the town called *La Comunidad Agraria Chocolá* through the cooperative, *Empresa Associativa Campesina (ECA)*[8] (Kaplan and Valdés 2005, Valdés and Kaplan 2005, Guevara 1994).

The name of the town, Chocolá, has a number of possible meanings, the most popular is that of "Chok' La Ta," which in K'iche' means "come on in, sir". The majority of Chocolá residents agree with this meaning for Chocolá and indicate this would be a phrase to say to neighbors or others passing through the community, possibly demonstrating the town as an important network for trade (Kaplan and Valdés 2004: 8, David Araña personal communication 2004). Yet, there are two other possibilities. The first was suggested by Francis Gall in el *Diccionario Geográfico de*

[8] In theory ECA's were to be the fundamental organizational and administrative body for economic, social, and community development of the region, area, or location. Created mostly in the South coast region in Guatemala in the 1980s they were set up in order to receive aid and assistance from agencies like la Comunidad Econmica Europea (CEE) and other international and national aid (Guevara 1994).

Guatemala (1983) as the possibility of joining the Spanish word *calor* (hot) with the K'iche' word já or há (water) so the name means "hot water". A few kilometers to the north of Chocolá is a town called Xojolá, which is not related to Chocolá, but some claim to mean hot water as well (Kaplan and Valdés 2004). Lastly, another hypothesis stems from Michael Coe who believes that the K'iche' word "chocola'j" means "drinking chocolate together" (Coe and Coe 1996:63, 118-121, Kaplan and Valdés 2004:9). This could demonstrate the importance of cacao in this region during the prehispanic era and large trade networks for cacao as the word chocolate is derived from the Náhuatl, *chocolatl (*Kaplan and Valdés 2004:9).

The different translations for Chocolá could all be possible since the Greater K'iche'an people, the Pipil, and Nahuatl have been trading, living, and working in this region for a long time. The Greater K'iche'an people, K'iche', Kaqchikel, and Tzu'tujil for example, are from the western highlands of Guatemala and evolved in the highlands close to where these languages are spoken today (Braswell 2003: 300). Chocolá is a kind of microcosm for Mesoamerica because products like cacao, obsidian, and ceramics were traded, yet at the same time ideas, words, and worldviews were traded and shared, creating a similar ideology throughout Mesoamerica.

The current Comunidad Agraria Chocolá is located 8 kilometers northeast of San Pablo Jocopilas, the municipality or ruling body of the surrounding fincas and 19 kilometers from Mazatenango, the capital of the department of Suchitepéquez (Kaplan and Valdés 2004:12). The community is comprised of primarily coffee

owners and or workers. Empresa Associativa Campesina (ECA), the ruling government in Chocolá, began in 1981 as a part of the San Pablo Jocopilas Municipality due to government reforms in agriculture and land use. Chocolá ECA[9] started with 774 *socios adjudicatarios* (owners of 20 cuerdas[10] of land) who were originally part of *la finca nacional de Chocolá*. This is one of the largest ECA´s in the country.

Herman Guevara from the Universidad de San Carlos (1994) revealed that ECA suffered a multitude of problems prior to 1994. Many of those same problems still exist today and demonstrate the stalemate the community has been facing for some time. Most of the problems fall in the range of very poor communication within ECA but mostly poor communication to the community, major corruption (including presidents taking money), and poor handling and pricing of the coffee. I have interviewed some people who choose not to process their coffee through the benefico (coffee processing plant) run by the Chocolá ECA but choose to find buyers themselves due to a lack of trust. Another issue is that only some people still pay their yearly dues to ECA while others do not because they are upset with the corruption and debt ECA maintains.

[9] The Chocolá ECA is run as follows; however it does vary somewhat from the "original ECA model". 1) Asamblea General (This technically is people who own 20 cuerdas of land. They have to pay into ECA a certain amount yearly. With owning land and paying into ECA this ensures a voice within in the community). 2) Junta Directiva (President, Vice President, Secretary, Treasurer) 3) Junta de Vigilancia (President and multiple Vocales) 4) Multiple committees for many other activities: water, festivals etc. (Guevara 1994).

[10] 1 cuerda = 25 barras by 25 barras (21 meters by 21 meters) and 20 cuerdas = 1 parsela

The population of the Chocolá is growing and at times the resources are thin and the community has trouble keeping up with the basic demands for water and other fundamental needs like education and road construction. The growing town also means more houses, churches, and water lines being constructed over the ancient Maya site faster then archaeologists could work. It was in this arena where archaeologists and the town came to a complete impasse. Unplanned urban growth and small-plot coffee farming were and remain the two biggest threats to the ancient site.

Another major impact in Chocolá is religion. Over the last ten to fifteen years faith has undergone a large change in Chocolá. Protestant Evangelical churches outnumber the Catholic Church 23 to 1. Most residents say that 85 to 90% of the community is Evangelical. This has changed the community culture from the typical synchretic Maya Catholic faith and/or traditional Maya spirituality to a strong leaning towards Protestant Christian Ladino culture with a strong push away from all traditional Maya beliefs. In fact, most Evangelicals refer to traditional Maya priests as *brujos* or witches. One pastor described the Mayas as blasphemous witches that were against God. He believes God killed off the Mayas in the past and buried all of their things under the earth because God was unhappy with the awful things the Mayas were doing. The pastor likened the Classic Maya to the people God purged during the flood in the time of Noah and the Ark. With over 20 different Evangelical churches, the community has their pick of the three large churches, which have 500 to

1000 members each, or the storefront Protestant churches which usually number ten to twenty people in the audience.

Each pastor has their own way of teaching and spreading the word of God, but a hint of competition is noticeable by the loud speakers used by different churches each night. Overall, the overwhelmingly strong presence of Protestant Evangelical churches is evident. Some non-evangelicals in and outside of the community claim these churches have caused division within the community. Those who are part of the Evangelical churches tell me that the churches have not created separation in the town but have only improved the lives for those who follow in the direction.

The cofradia[11] at the Roman Catholic church (built in 1923 by the Germans) explained that their traditions and the Catholic faith is dying in Chocolá and with it so many of the Maya memories will be lost. The leader Don Florentine said "look at us, I am 81, the rest of us are in their 70's. Who is left to take this over"? They explained that the Evangelicals have turned their people away from many of the traditional dances, dress, and language and say sadly that soon no on will remember them. Now, Mass is celebrated only once a month in the church. Don Florentine explained in the early days the Germans had Mass three times a day.

Despite the conflicts in town, weak and divided leadership, the claim by many that there is not one community but many, and the falling coffee prices, everyone agrees Chocolá is beautiful. Many explain how lucky I am to visit here because it is the most beautiful place in Guatemala. I have been told they have rich, fertile soil for

[11] "Catholic religious brotherhoods introduced by the Spaniards but today considered characteristically Maya" (Fischer and Hendrickson 2003: 149).

growing just about anything and this region grows the best bananas. Also, the climate is perfect, the town to the south (7 km) is too hot and the town to the north (2 km) is too cold. Chocolá is said to be so wonderful that in fact that people from all parts of Guatemala are moving to Chocolá, some coming from even as far away as Alta Verapaz[12]. There is a large amount of pride in the current town and related to the history of the German finca. Many of the older generation is eager to share their stories and information from the time of the German coffee plantation; however, few are aware of the ancient Maya city underneath their feet. Although many have found the ceramics, stones, and obsidian while working in their fields and building their houses, only some take value in these items. Most others feel disconnected with these things far removed from the remembered past. The pre-Colonial past has been largely forgotten.

[12] Alta Verapaz a region in Guatemala of extreme beauty is at minimum 7-8 hours away on bus or 200km to the northeast.

Eastern horizon of Chocolá, Guatemala. Taken while standing atop Mound 1 (Fig. 14).

Archaeology in Chocolá

The modern town of Chocolá sits atop an early, historically significant Precolumbian urban complex identified with the ancient Maya. From May 2003 until it was forcefully ended by town residents in May 2006, the *Proyecto Arqueológico Chocolá* or PACH supervised excavations of the ancient city, believed to date to the Middle and Late Preclassic Maya periods (ca. 1200 BC to 200 AD).

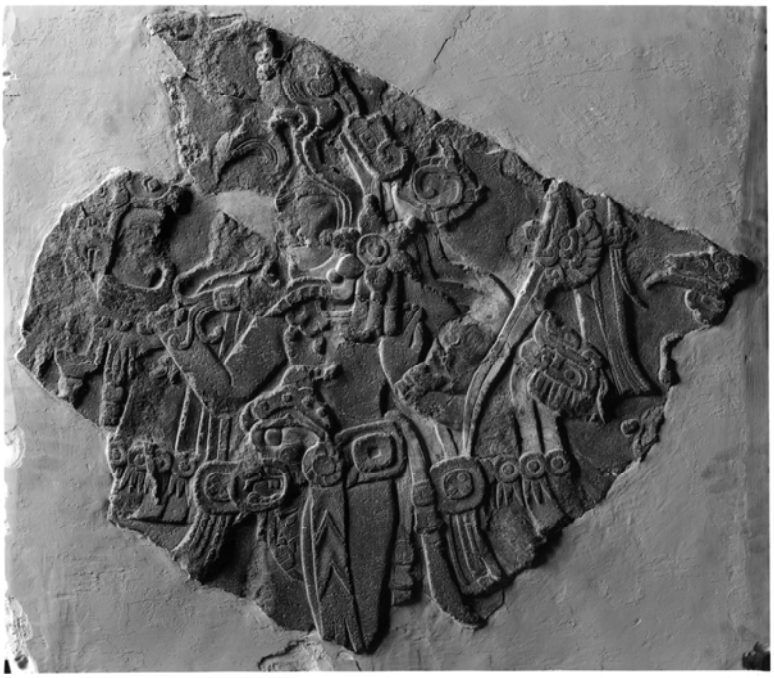
Project sign at entrance to Chocola, Guatemala. (Fig 15).

The site is a significant part of the Southern Maya Zone and is situated between two sites that have some of the earliest Long Count texts, Tak'alik Abaj and El Baúl (Kaplan and Valdés 2005, Valdés and Kaplan 2005, Sharer 2006: 242,236). Tak'alik Abaj, a center rich in Preclassic sculpture, is about thirty kilometers to the west, while El Baúl is fifty kilometers to the east (Schieber de Lavarreda and Orrego 2002). The influential site located 165 kilometers to the southeast is the large Preclassic city of Kaminaljuyu (Kaplan 2004, Sharer 2006: 242, 236).

The Southern Maya Zone is thought to be an area important in early urban entities, a region where some of the first "ruler-stela cult" of Maya kingship appeared, as well as early hieroglyphic texts (Kaplan 2004). Sylvanus G. Morley suggested that

‘pre-Maya” beginnings were located in the highlands of Guatemala. He thought that maize agriculture began here and was later carried to the lowlands and the Yucatan (Morley 1947: 44). We now know that maize origins were elsewhere, but the highlands were still very important to the origins of Maya civilization. During the Late Preclassic, along the Pacific piedmont, populations increased and social complexity continued as these “early polities undoubtedly emerged as independent mercantile powers astride important coastal trade routes” (Sharer 2006:231).

Chocolá, situated in the center of this region, has been relatively neglected. Yet, it was believed to have been part of the cacao trade with Kaminaljuyu for obsidian and a center of advanced water management. Chocolá Monument 1, whose carving is almost identical to that on Preclassic Kaminaljuyu Stela 10, demonstrates the connections between these two cities (Kaplan 2004: 5).

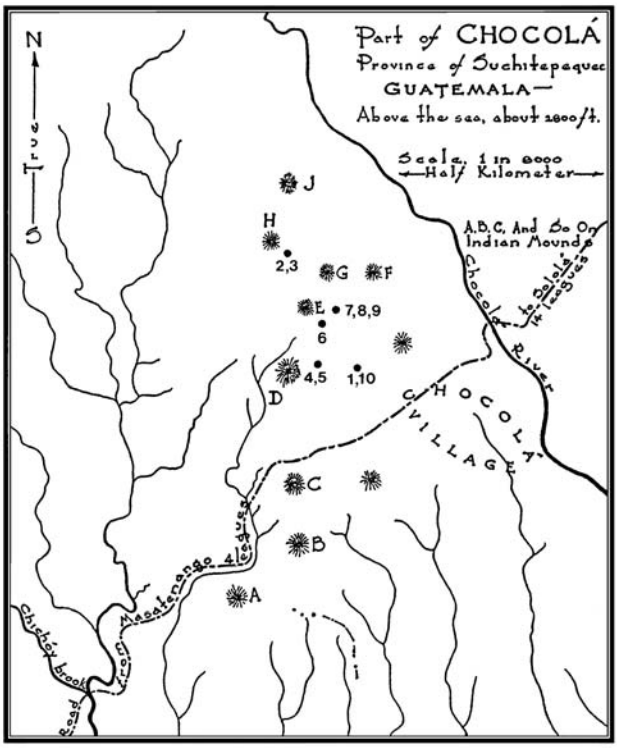


Chocolá Monument 1. (Fig 16).

Each of these depicts a figure in similar standing position with an arm or arms out to both sides. These figures both have large costumes, most likely symbolizing birds, as they have wing like parts made of feathers. Both figures wear necklaces, belts and headpieces. However, Stela 10 has swirled eyes, representing a trance, while Monument 1 does not. Also, Stela 10 has glyphs and Monument 1 does not. Linking these to the wider south coast, Mora-Marin (2005) points out that Stela 10 is unlike Epi-Olmec texts because it demonstrates the "regularized glyph-block size" which also appears at El Baul, Takalik Abaj, and Lowland texts. Since stela 10 contains early glyphs similar to many found on the south coast, and this stela is very similar to Monument 1 at Chocolá, this could mean that Chocolá participated in the trade and ethnic interaction between these preclassic, south coast sites: Kaminaljuyu, La Blanca, El Ujuxte and Izapa a Mixe-Zoque site (Kaplan 1995, 2004, Love 1999a,b, Mora-Marin 2005, and Sharer 2006). It is asserted that this was an area of political and ethnic diversity during the Preclassic that contained two types of cities, those lacking carved monuments like El Ujuxte and those with which could demonstrate different forms of political power (Sharer 2006: 235). The Southern Maya Zone possesses evidence for important seminal developments in Maya-Olmec interaction, early kingship and writing, yet relatively little systematic fieldwork has occurred in this region as compared to the Maya lowlands. The Maya lowlands have been a large focus of excavations due to the low population of people that live in the region, which makes it easy to excavate unlike the highlands, where population density is high.

A main focus of Mesoamerican archaeology is focused on complex sociopolitical societies specifically of the Classic Maya (Marcus 1998, Sharer 2006, Chase and Chase 1996, and Gillespie 2000). Kaplan and Valdes (2004) suggest that the studies of state society are well established and these debates focused in the Maya Lowlands should also be applied to the southern area involving settlement pattern research. Scholars such as Sharer and Demarest have all noted the need to consider the southern Maya interaction because "…there has been little discussion of interregional interaction with the highlands themselves, connections between Middle to Late Preclassic Kaminaljuyu and centers such as Chalchuapa, Izapa, Monte Alto and Bilbao" (Demarest and Sharer 1986: 196). Lowland sites such as Uaxactun, Cerros, El Mirador and San Bartolo have all been studied as examples of Preclassic kingship and complex state society. These sites possess examples of similar artwork of bird like men found at Kaminaljuyu and Chocolá demonstrating this ideology was shared throughout the Maya region. Kaplan believes it is important to utilize this same framework in the south coast and that Chocolá could be key in understanding the complex state society in the highland region (Kaplan 2004: 9).

Archaeological explorations began in Chocolá when Karl Sapper visited in the early 1900s. However, it was first excavated by Robert Burkitt in the early 1920s for the University of Pennsylvania (Kaplan and Valdés 2005, Valdés and Kaplan 2005, Sharer 2006). Burkitt drew a schematic map of 11 mounds and excavated three and excavated three of them but was disappointed by the small number of artifacts in the mostly earthen mounds.



Burkitt's schematic Map (Fig 17).


Mound 1 in early 20th century. (Fig 18).

However, he also uncovered broken fragments of an extraordinary basalt sculpture, known as Chocolá Monument 1, dating to the Late Preclassic. Burkitt published his results in "Excavations at Chocolá" (1930). E.M. Shook visited Chocolá in 1943, and

30 years later conducted small excavations in Mound 2 in 1978 and 1979. It was later suggested to Kaplan that Chocolá should be investigated as an important center for cacao in the southern Maya trade corridor (Kaplan 2004, Sharer 2006).

Proyecto Arqueológico Chocolá

The Archaeology

Under the direction of Dr. Jonathan Kaplan (University of Pennsylvania) and Juan Antiono Valdés (Universidad de San Carlos) (2003-2004) and Lic. Rene Ugarte (2005) the overall research framework for *Proyecto Arqueológico Chocolá* was guided by questions of urbanism, Maya and Olmec interaction, and economic infrastructure and trade mostly in cacao (Kaplan and Valdés 2005, Valdés and Kaplan 2005). In 2000, Kaplan visited Chocolá to investigate the possibilities of excavation and began relationships with the community. PACH negotiated with the K'iche' community on many issues such as on property rights with over 720 land owners, jobs, direction of the project, and the potential for museums and tourism. Each year the project typically employed 40 to 50 community members during the four months of the field season and brought over 60 volunteers to Chocolá through the Earthwatch Institute, a non-profit agency "dedicated to engaging people worldwide in scientific field research and education to promote the understanding and action necessary for a sustainable environment" (Earthwatch 2005).

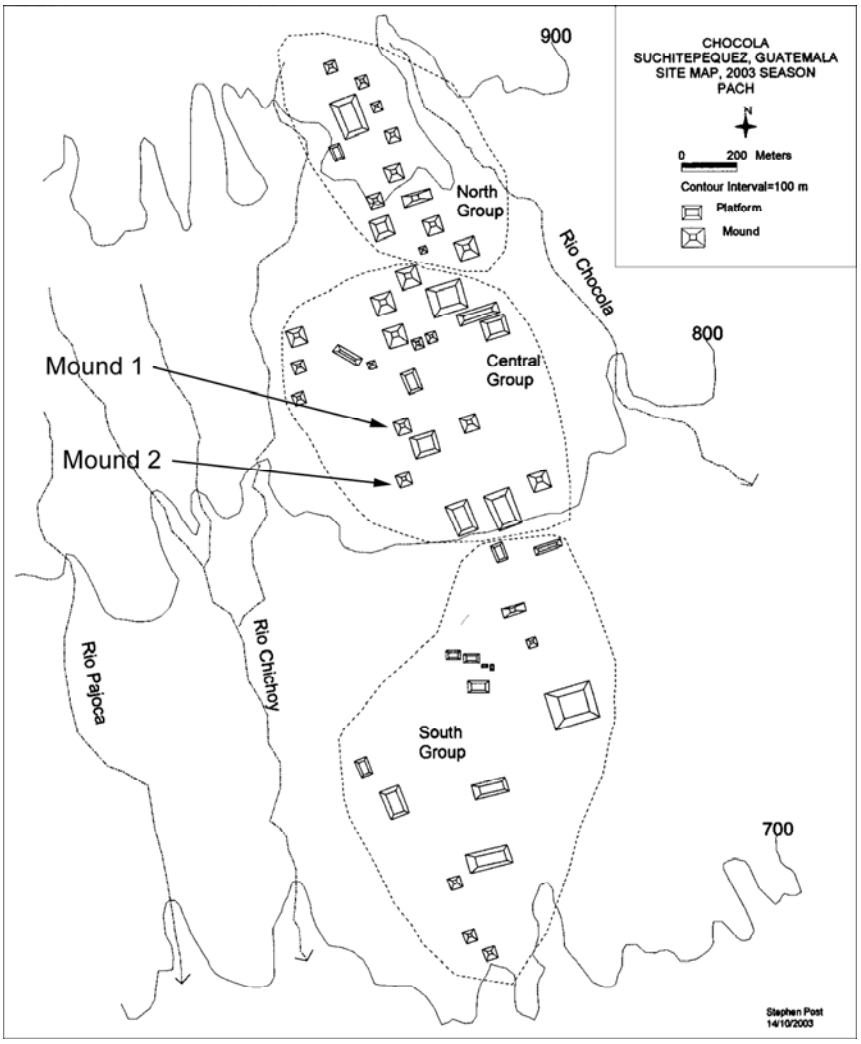
The archaeological goal for the PACH project was for a multi-year theory-driven research program to understand and research the early Maya city-state system as it appeared in the Southern Maya area during the Late Preclassic (Kaplan 2004: 8).

This would be focused specifically on Chocolá with the themes of ethic interaction, hydraulic systems, cacao production, subsistence strategies and trade, including the broader Southern Maya area that centers on writing, urban centers and kingship. To research these objectives the PACH project planned: systematic survey, mapping, sampling, and multi-year excavation and analysis at Chocolá. First, mapping, survey, GIS, gradiometry and test pits were used for understanding the boundaries and size of Chocolá. Second, systematic grid excavation in specific loci was used to specifically understand the layout of the ancient city. Third, laboratory analysis of the uncovered artifacts, obtaining absolute chronology through radiocarbon dating was applied (Kaplan and Valdes 2005).

The results of the research were to be distributed at the scholarly level and in public venues such as museums, tourism and in the community (Kaplan 2004). For example, PACH presented annually at the Archaeology Symposia in Guatemala City each July and the Society for American Archaeology meetings. Also each season PACH submitted the "informe" report for the Guatemalan Ministry (IDEAH) and provided a copy to the Chocolá community as well.

The three archaeology field seasons (2003-2005) (as reported in the three informes and presentations at professional conferences) were successful and demonstrated the archaeological wealth in Chocolá. Reconnaissance and mapping of the ancient mounds, terraces, and monuments including natural features such as rivers and dams were integral to understanding the ancient city (Kaplan 2004). The site is

extensive. The first phase of mapping and reconnaissance was completed in 2005 and the site totaled six by three kilometers.



PACH Map 2003. (Fig 19).

It is laid out in a series of three descending platforms running north and south, similar to Tak'alik Ab'aj (Schieber de Lavarreda and Orrego 2002, Sharer 2006:242). More similarities between Tak'alik Ab'aj and Chocolá were discovered such as the covered water-tube or drainage systems and the great platform retaining walls utilizing squared cobbles (Kaplan 2004).

The project excavated the hydraulic system within the great mounds was excavated along with canals containing ritual deposits. The canals were primarily located a meter below the surface and consisted of flat rocks on the bottom, with rounded or squared rocks in a vertical position to form the sides with flat rocks or *lajas* laid across the top. Overall, the canals were somewhat square structures. These ran north to south for 18m and southeast to southeast for 14 m, as the second section bifurcated from the main section (Cossich 2004: 208).

Canals on Mound 15 season 2004. (Fig 20).

Canals on Mound 15 Season 2004. (Fig 21).

Fieldwork produced over 1000 lithic and ceramic scatters along with thousands of small or portable artifacts, including 16 whole vessels. These were recovered through excavation of five mounds and multiple test excavations (Cossich 2004 and Kaplan and Valdés 2004). Most of the ceramics dated to the Middle Preclassic period (900-600BC), while the earliest may date to the Early Preclassic Ocos phase at 1200 BC. The occupations extend to the Late Classic. Carbon 14 samples from the excavated mounds indicate a Late Middle Preclassic through Late Preclassic date.

The project collected evidence indicating that the elites of the site lived to the north, with access to the cleanest water. The center of the site was an administrative area with large conical mounds, some as high as 25 m. Elite residences located in some of the mounds were excavated , yielding thousands of small or portable artifacts, including the sixteen whole vessels. The project identified over forty

monuments, including a fragment depicting a captive with bound hands, altars, and a *barrigon*.

Barrigones, or potbellies, are sculptures that have been found primarily along the Pacific coast, in the highlands and sometimes found in far regions of the lowlands usually among Late Preclassic sites (Graham 1978, Scheidber de Lavarreda and Orrego 2001a: 61). They are human or human type stone monuments, usually asexual, seated figures with legs crossed and eyes closes, with the two arms and hands come to rest on the stomach, which is usually a protruding stomach like a potbelly (Demarest 1986, Scheidber de Lavarreda and Orrego 2001: 22, 2001a:61). At Tak'alik' Ab'aj barrigones make up 14% of the monuments that are similar to the style found at Monte Alto and Kaminaljuyu (Graham 1978, Scheidber de Lavarreda and Orrego 2001a: 61).

Barrigon, from Mound 6, 2005 season. (Fig 22).

Barrigones have also been found at Bilbao (Parsons 1967), Tikal (Coe 1965), San Bartolo (Craig 2003), and Copan (Richardson 1940). Overall, barrigones have been difficult to date as often they have been reused and moved by later groups (Demarest 1986). However, due to the "Olmecoid" appearance, with rounded eyes and baby faces, it is believed they date to the Preclassic (Graham 1978). The presence of the barrigon at Chocolá again demonstrates the importance of the site and the strong link to surrounding ancient cities. The barrigon at Chocolá was not as rotund as the typical barrigon, but the eyes were shut and arms crossed upon the chest. It is often believed that there is a great variability between barrigons. Demarest (1986) suggests that the monuments were carved to follow the natural contours of the stones.

Another important focus of the archaeology project, protection of the ancient site, was completed at the end of the 2005 season. The finalization of the detailed map explaining the boundaries of the site for cultural patrimony approval by the Guatemalan government was an important step. With completion of the man and IDEAH agreement for additional protection, the regional inspector of IDEAH who had already visited many times visited more frequently after the 2005 season on into 2006. He began speaking with some of the landowners about constructing new buildings, explaining that they should allow test pits to be dug in areas where they are going to construct their homes so information was not lost.

The Community Archaeology

PACH was dedicated to community archaeology. At the start of the project, PACH outlined goals to facilitate work with the community, including local

development projects in order to help support the town and sustain the research. Every season, PACH initiated and collaborated with the community on small projects in water and trash management, schools, and public assemblies. It also helped develop plans for a *Casa de Cultura* (House of Culture), which would be a small museum to ancient Maya history, local history, and coffee plantation history, that would provide a venue for current cultural events and exhibits. These House of Culture activities would be a place where the project could sustain connections to the community. One of the most important things the project provided was much needed income through employment and next through the purchasing of goods and items in the town stores.

As most of Guatemala, jobs with wages are rare in Chocolá. Archaeology presented an opportunity. “Jobs,” Maria said, “Chocolá has many poor families and malnourished children and many couples have ten children and I am telling the truth when I say many people do not have the money for breakfast”. The archaeology project could provide the most coveted thing of all, which was of great interest to many in the community. Archaeological workers and town residents Rogelio, Egidio, and Cruz described their first perception and knowledge of the project. When the governing body of Chocolá, ECA, gathered the people in an assembly and asked for people to submit names of who would like to work. Many joined not knowing exactly what the project would bring, other then a job! Maria explained that the project was “positive, the people [foreigners and Guatemalans from the city] were nice and it was a chance to earn some money”.

Soon, the increasing interest by local residents to work at the project led to the creation of a fifteen day rotation of workers in order to present more people in the community with an opportunity for some work. An interview with local vendors in the main section of town revealed many were happy with the increase in sales due to increased income in the community. Cristina, a vendor and mother of four with a husband in the USA, said she appreciated the archaeology project because it provided more income to her store, a possible museum for her children to visit. However, she warned that it would only be here short term. The first perceptions about archaeology was as a source of income. The project was going to provide much needed jobs for town residents and bring income to the many small stores in the central town area.

A second widely accepted perception of the project was that it, like other projects would stay for a limited time and then leave. The PACH archaeology project was the first foreign project in Chocolá since the early 1990's, when the Comunidad Económica Europea (CEE) (also called Proyecto Bocacosta by locals) left. The CEE attempted to improve the coffee stock with new plants, improve harvest, and knowledge of coffee. The project also helped the community out of debt and purchased the remainder of finca land to donate to the community. As a result all the land belonged to the community of Chocolá, (a fact of which many in the community were unaware). The CEE also left behind tractors, cars and tools for use. However, much of this had been sold off or lost. It was evident many people thought that all outside projects *were* the same: they promised the heavens but in the end they left. I found that, in 2004, the community was generally receptive to PACH even though

some were distant. Rogelio explained that "the people have watched various projects come to Chocolá like Proyecto Bocacosta, but in time they leave and not much changes" and as a result some people in Chocolá are not fond of the project or outsiders. Yet, while ethnographically exploring the current water system in Chocolá with David, president of the water committee, I witnessed many of the benefits the CEE had completed. They had installed many new PVC water pipes and new tanks to store water for the community; however most of this is buried and located in the woods north of town. Overall most of the community did not notice the work the CEE had completed for the community like new water tanks and providing a great deal of capital to purchase and maintain the remainder of the land.

PACH realized open communication with the Junta Directiva (board of directors) of ECA and community was essential and the archaeology project worked diligently in the first two seasons to establish a strong relationship. Kaplan explained in a 2004 report that an "extraordinary working relationships with the people and officials of Chocolá [had been established]…thus assuring greatly facilitated research continuing into the future" (Kaplan 2004c: 8). This relationship allowed for trash pickup and removal in the community with the endorsement of the Junta Directiva. Also during the first two field seasons PACH focused on town assemblies, the connections with local leaders, and visits with the local schools that later toured the laboratory. Rogelio stressed the importance of keeping the community informed of what the project was doing and what would be planned for the future. He explained that the community of Chocolá is large and in reality only a small handful work for

the project and the project, must inform the community through assemblies and meetings.

Identifying the best form of communication with the people of Chocolá was made paramount by town residents. Egidio, employed by PACH agreed that many in the community "do not know what you all are doing…an assembly asking permission to work here is needed…yet also there are many people who will not attend the assembly because they are not interested in what you are doing". Egidio pointed out that we need to also reach beyond assemblies for those who did not attend because "we will encounter them only when we are on their *parcelas* (land) and they will think we are doing damage". Cristina cautioned that many people do not understand archaeology and think we are digging for gold, and the gringos are trying to take from them. I had a few encounters with older traditionally dressed Maya men I met along the dirt road towards the north of town where we were excavating. More then once they told me to stop digging for gold and return to where I was from because this land belongs to the people here. After speaking with some townspeople about these encounters they explained that those men were the Maya from the hills.

Yet, there were others from Chocolá that believed similar ideas. Some Evangelical town residents have told me that archaeology is negative because by digging up the ancient stones the witches will come. They explained that there are already some witches (Maya priests) that come to La Ventana a cave just a five minute walk out of town and they do not need more. In fact the town Samayac just 15

minutes to the west is full of witches, and Chocolá does not need to become one of these places due to archaeology.

Yet some also felt the small hope the project brought transcended the difficult lives for many in Chocolá. Egidio one of the veteran workers said he really enjoyed excavating and archaeological work because "I am learning a lot and I have never had the opportunity to study this". The archaeology project, through its school tours and presence, brought new knowledge. Egidio explained, "I have a son that really likes this project, likes archaeology, but he is young and still studying in the primary school but I hope to God that God grants me the help to have him study something like archaeology".

The project soon was perceived as a learning tool which led some workers to ask me to teach English classes. During the 2005 season, I began English classes five nights a week for the workers who wished to attend. In order to provide more information about the ancient Maya, we held an information session for all site workers and project employees to learn about Maya history and archaeology utilizing Power Point. Rogelio told me this was his first real knowledge of the ancient Maya who lived here before him and he felt more in the community needed to learn this. Cruz explained, "I like it, all of the things…we are behind in a great deal of this because the truth is we are ignorant about all this". He continued, "I am very interested because there are many things that no one knew they were precious or what they meant". Doña Maria said she was lucky because her kitchen was next to the laboratory and she was always able to remain informed on what was brought in from

the field. Over the first two seasons the perception of the archaeology project at least for some changed to something that brought more than monetary value.

As the third season of the project continued (2005) Cruz felt the community was positive about the archaeology, “for those of us that are originally from Chocolá, almost everyone is happy because this is a job, this job is not for everyone…they are happy…all of Chocolá is happy. We did not know this existed here but the majority of the people are happy”. Doña Maria shared similar sentiments that “many of the people in the assemblies are content with the project, the majority of the people respect you and want to meet you”. Rogelio pointed out it would be beneficial to teach more in the community about the artifacts and the many because many projects that came in the past never taught them new skills, and that was key to helping the community remain interested.

Discussing the future with many of the Chocolá residents at times is more of a short-term venture because many only have enough resources to make it to tomorrow. Yet, Cruz explained that when the archaeology project was finished, “many people will be happy because of all the things that were found here…there will be a museum and this museum will bring many people from different places they are going to come here and most to see Chocolá and I think that they are going to like it…many will benefit from this”. Rogelio also had high hopes for the future of a museum (casa de cultura) for he believed the project would be able to bring tourists and money to Chocolá. And explained that a project that could come and work in Chocolá “to help the people…to make Chocolá better…welcome to Chocolá!”

The collaborative relationship between the community of Chocolá and PACH was beneficial for both entities during the first three seasons. There were times of discontent, stemming from miscommunication and rumors, but overall the early results of community archaeology were positive. The communication with political leadership in town helped to secure office and living space for PACH and negotiation with land owners to excavate on their lands. However, the failure to reach out to more of the community the failure to involve the community in the cultural patrimony map and creation led to the downfall in multivocality, the loss of the vested interest by the community.

The Multivocal Breakdown

Conflict in Chocolá arose because a community of 10,000 people lives directly above the ancient city. Tension emerged from a lack of cooperation and a failure in communication between the archaeological project and the local peoples. The tension primarily stemmed from late summer 2005 due to a series of events. First due to the incredibly busy season, neither a town assembly about the project nor a discussion of the cultural patrimony map and subsequent laws was realized. This was a major fault. Second, a community forum was held in Chocolá which included PACH, the German Ambassador and government officials from the state, municipality and the town. The hope was the German embassy could provide funds to repair the deteriorating German finca buildings. Instead, this meeting led to rumors that the Government was attempting to purchase the community and take their lands away. Third, the departure of the assistant directors led to a fault in direct communication with the community.

Fourth, when the cultural patrimony laws protecting the site were put into effect they were never fully explained to the community or the community never fully understood or accepted the laws. This led the community to turn against the government inspector and in turn the archaeology project. The conflict and tension was a culmination of events which the archaeology project, the community and other parties possibly could have prevented. The dynamic between these events are absolutely vital to understanding the termination of the archaeology project.

In late July 2005, the German ambassador and his secretaries, along with the state Governor and local mayor of the district, visited Chocolá for a tour of the historic German coffee processing buildings and the ancient Maya site. A large public presentation was made in the town center about each of the dignitaries, the archaeology project, and the pride of Chocolá. Dr. Kaplan pursued the German embassy for over a year to establish support to renovate and preserve the local German history.[13] A large portion of the town came out for the public presentation. Many in the community put forth a great deal of effort to exhibit their interest in the center of town; the program included a reading by the community indigenous queen and lunch for forty hosted by PACH (the visiting dignitaries their secretaries as well as the most important government officials in Chocolá).

[13] The history of the German coffee plantation is preserved well in the coffee plantation buildings built in the 1890's. The *taller* or tool shop is still in working order and utilizes water pressure in aqueducts built by the Germans to run the pulley system.

Chocolá main office, which once served as the German Plantation pay office, held the ceremony for the German ambassador. (Fig 23).

The event probably put into motion two trends among community members that would prove crucial to the management of the project. First, the public display likely instigated "talk and rumors" about the archaeology project conspiring with the government, that Chocolá was going to receive benefits towns around the area were not. Second, the school board became involved and highly interested in knowing whether the Germans could provide money for a new school. Later, however, this possible money stimulated rumors that the government and archaeology project were attempting to buy the town.

In August 2005, the mistaken assumptions and malicious rumors of the archaeology project began to drift through the community. The origins of some rumors seem to come from a neighboring town's radio channel whose signal reached Chocolá. According to one rumor, the project with government support would

attempt to purchase the town and move all residents to the rainforest. The only attempt by the archaeologists to quell this rumor was to talk with those who raised concerns and invite them to tour the lab, monuments, and future museum. However, there was no town assembly to dispel these rumors and answer the town's lingering questions and hesitation to the apparent transformation of their community. Jealousy can be a problem in rural Guatemala due to a total lack of overall resources. If one family or town is receiving benefits from outsiders often other community members or people from the surrounding areas can start negative rumors out of jealousy.

Another problem within the community grew from the supposed favoritism for some town employees over others by PACH, which led to jealousy and anger, and at the time was left unaddressed by the project. Yet it was a difficult problem for the project to deal with because it stemmed from rivalry that already existed between community members. Some employees were upset that other employees were able to have more than one family member work for the project or be exempt from the 15 day work cycle. This helped to feed the already stirring rumors.

Also, August and September were the critical period when the site was granted cultural patrimony protection under Guatemalan law, and the connections with the Regional Inspector from the Institute of Anthropology and History (IDEAH) became stronger. The inspector made numerous visits over the years to check on Chocolá as he did for many of the archaeological sites in his region, but with the new protection laws, his visits became more frequent. Since the excavation period was over, no archaeologists were in residence to answer questions and stifle rumors, and

the presence of the inspector caused many of the people to feel uncomfortable and question the archaeology project.

Following the 2005 season the two assistant directors quit to finish their degrees. The assistant directors, students at the Guatemalan university, were absolutely vital in communicating with the town for they made regular visits to Chocolá and remained in contact via telephone. However, without the assistant directors, no one from PACH was visiting or communicating directly with Chocolá. Soon, Dr. Kaplan, who had returned to the United States, received many emergency calls from the site *guardian* and from the IDEAH inspector. They explained to Kaplan that the people were not happy; however, they never explicitly explained the issues; it was impressed upon Kaplan that he should visit. Kaplan visited in January 2006 for ten days to re-explain the project, the specific goals and create a presence in the town. He left with the belief that issues were resolved. However, on May 31, Kaplan was on his way to the site with the first volunteers and crew members to start the 2006 season when he received a phone call from a Chocolá resident: "*Que no vengan los gringos*" (Do not let the Americans come). Kaplan now faced his worst fears; the residents of Chocolá did not want the archaeology project. Three months of summer excavating turned into three months of Kaplan talking, negotiating and meeting with people in Chocolá and many entities in Guatemala City such as IDEAH, German and American embassies, as well as the ministers of agriculture and tourism of Guatemala.

When the project could not continue in the summer of 2006, I visited many people in the community while tensions were high and tried to understand the dilemmas. I talked with Rogelio in Chocolá about the situation. He thanked me for keeping in touch with his family, especially his son in the United States, and revealed his fear that two more of his sons were going to follow Felix's footsteps. Since the project ended there was no hope for jobs this summer in Chocolá and keeping his sons in Chocolá was a challenge. They dreamed big he said, they wanted a future that as for now he could not provide. Once again Rogelio reminded me, "the project for now is gone because communication failed, the community no longer felt informed, they no longer had a vested interest in the project.

Yet, after talking with community members for and against the project as well as Dr. Kaplan, I still do not have a clear story of exactly what happened this past spring. Everyone has their own story to tell, but mostly the people were extremely concerned that the government and archaeology project were trying to take their lands. This uncertainty spread first because the archaeology project did not have sustained interaction with the community during the off season due to a change in assistant directors. Confusion over cultural patrimony laws in the spring of 2006 was the final straw.

The IDEAH archaeology inspector made many visits and soon test excavations were performed in locations where new buildings were going to be started in order to identify areas of importance under the laws of cultural patrimony in order to protect it before it was forever buried. The people who were constructing

buildings had to pay for the test excavations which were extremely expensive. Test excavations are 2 m by 2 m excavation pits that usually are 50 cm deep. One unit cost more then Q400 ($53 often more than two weeks of pay). Usually two or more excavation units were put in one location. The people in the community understood that the regional inspector said that due to cultural patrimony laws they should not build new houses or churches until further test pits were performed. Then if anything of great importance was found, they would lose their land to the state in order to protect it. The archaeology project explained that they could perform these pits for free in June when the project started, but community members explained to me that they had to do the test pits then (March) before the full rainy season began in late May or they would loose building time until the next dry season.

Soon town residents grew fearful that the archaeology project and government were conspiring to take their lands. Sadly, it appears that it began with only forty land owners who were upset because they owned land where excavation had taken place in previous seasons. Yet these forty hired a lawyer and spread hatred of the archaeology project through town. It was explained to me that in the fall over 1000 people marched through town to ECA yelling and rallying against the archaeology project. This culminated in a meeting in front of the government building with a call for the ECA president to leave office. So, in the fall of 2006 the Junta Directiva of ECA was replaced for being too friendly to gringos and archaeologists.

The people of Chocolá ***had a basis*** in a 500-year legacy of colonialism that led to real fears and concerns combined with the debacle in communication which

resulted in a poor understanding, and the community's perception of archaeology changed and halted the archaeology project, as of now, indefinitely.

As of November 2006, the archaeology project is stopped but the *Casa de Cultura* is going through the legal process of becoming recognized as a nonprofit organization under Guatemalan law. An acting president, Don Oscar, is organizing a local board of representatives and locating a proper building to house the Casa de Cultura. This is being supported and partially funded by Amigos de Chocolá, a non profit, secular organization formed in September 2005 which seeks to maintain sustainability projects that are endorsed by the community of Chocolá. The Amigos de Chocolá is composed of former Earthwatch volunteers who visited Chocolá and fell in love with the town and the people. This organization is completely separate from archaeology but in no way will interfere with archaeology. To date the Amigos de Chocolá has helped the local schools and is working on larger projects in agriculture and the Casa de Cultura.

Yet even with a positive result of the archaeology project it was recently explained to me by Don Oscar that archaeology is not welcome, even the mention of the name PACH causes problems. A t-shirt some community members have cannot be worn. The t-shirt says Amigos de Chocolá and shows a picture of the barrigon found at the site and a small copyright logo of PACH is in the corner of the t-shirt. Opponents of the archaeology project saw this shirt and new tension arose and Don Oscar became a target for conspiring with the gringo archaeologists.

Chocolá is a town in transition. Multiple ways of life are changing. The youth are leaving behind the ways of their parents, learning technology and English instead of K'iche', and coffee farming. Yet due to a lack of money and opportunities within the community, much of life also remains the same. For now, archaeology is not welcome in Chocolá and most likely will not be for some time, yet the people continue life without the archaeology project and the development projects it promised to bring. This is an important lesson in collaboration and community archaeology. It is extremely difficult and demands a specific methodology for each community; however, it must be recognized that working with the local community is mandatory. It also demonstrates that academic modern archaeology in theory and practice is not responding to the changes and demands of local and descendant communities (Arnold 2002: 411). Chocolá is a vital resource archaeologists must learn from in order to save the profession of archaeology.

Chapter 5
A Methodology of Collaborative Archaeology

The people who are the descendants and frequently use archaeological sites as a ritual space are often ignored by archaeologists (Ardren 2002: 393). Investigation of those who "have experiential knowledge of the site" is critical in beginning relationships with stakeholders (those populations with vested interest in the site), as well as understanding and including their worldview. The cases of Tecpan and Chocolá, Guatemala argue for the absolute necessity of archaeologists collaborating with the local communities. Archaeological sites are not just places of excavation and learning about the past, they are living ceremonial spaces, where existing Maya pray, raise their children, and share the oral tradition of the past, yet they can also be homes, coffee plots, cow pastures, and sources that bring witches. Archaeologists must understand that ancient sites are not only places to gain archaeological knowledge. They already have a life of their own created and recreated by the people who live on and around them. It is interacting and involving these communities where we can create a multivocal story about the archaeology site. Hopefully a story that does not have to be "mined" for one "usable past" but inclusive that demonstrates there are many histories (Arnold 2003).

Ensuring that science and local input are both respected and understood is not easy. Finding a meeting ground can be next to impossible at times, but for archaeology to work in the modern world I propose a methodology for working with the local community. This methodology is an attempt at a multivocal collaborative archaeology. The fact is, it might not work but this is the possibility that it can.

Creating a methodology for collaboration is not a simple task, and facilitating the maintenance of this collaboration is even more difficult, but losing it can mean the end of a project. Communities are different world wide resulting in a great variety of "how" to actually collaborate with the local populations.

This methodology includes a specific agenda outlining goals, role of the community, the researchers, possible tourism, and preservation of cultural patrimony such as artifacts and where they will be stored and displayed. In order to have a true multivocal anthropology, a multidisciplinary team of local residents and interested participants is necessary for this goal to be achieved. Maintaining the community's vested interest is absolutely essential to a successful project but it is also necessary to not loose site of archaeology as a science. The community should be welcomed to learn about the project and share their interpretations. They should not only be employed by the project, but learn the possibilities of employing this knowledge in their town and future in order to preserve their heritage and create possible jobs and survival for themselves. Even with well outlined goals and communication at the beginning of the project it is essential that the community have joint decision making in each step of the process. However, archaeologists should also remember at times they need to do research for the sake of archaeology that may not include the community.

Ultimately, it is important to create a working and adaptable method because it allows archaeologists to apply theory in action. Weaving together ideas from archaeological case studies, personal archaeological experience, personal experiences

from the collaborative ethnography “The Other Side of Middletown” (2004), and participant observation in Tecpan and Chocolá, I propose the following method as a model for successful collaborative archaeology. It is arranged in a step-by-step consideration of how to perform and apply collaborative archaeology.

The most important aspect of this methodology is that it was written in response to the PACH archaeology project being removed from the town of Chocolá. The lessons learned in Chocolá are vital to improving archaeology. Overall, the PACH project has heavily affected this suggested methodology and hopefully will help archaeologists to avoid traps in the future. As project ethnographer for PACH, I gained a good understanding of community sentiment and the PACH projects understanding of the situation. The entire situation was difficult for all involved and this methodology is a hope at creating a better understanding between archaeology teams and local communities.

Preparation and Background. To undertake an archaeological investigation an archaeologist must prepare in multiple arenas. The first is to prepare a multidisciplinary team of community members and outsiders to approach the project with a holistic perspective. This team should include, archaeologists (ceramicist, lithic expert, archaeoethnobotanist, etc.), project ethnographer/applied anthropologist, coordinator for volunteers, community/archaeology project liaison, development expert or liaison from cooperating NGO’s/non-profits, translator and/or linguist, ethnobotanist and an environmentalist/conservationist. Other possible team members to include are experts in agronomy, geology, mapping and technology, legal advisory,

and tourism or ecotourism. Of course the availability of monetary resources will decide the size of the team, but it is essential to have team members that can be in charge of working with the community, on development projects, and organizing day to day functions while the archaeologists are doing archaeology. The principal investigator can be an archaeologist or one of the other team members, but it is important that if it is primarily an archaeology project, the goal is focused on performing archaeology.

There are many arenas in which some archaeologists are not trained but are extremely important to prepare for and understand. These include all national, state, and local laws that affect archaeology, communication, the region and culture area of the project, human remains, and the processing and storage of artifacts. Although, the archaeologist or principal investigator cannot prepare for all situations, having a good team will help prepare the project for many issues.

First, the team should have an understanding of the region where they wish to work. This understanding should cover multiple areas such as: geological, geographical and weather, political, health, cultural, and a basic understanding of the history and the current financial situation of the region. These aspects may seem broad and beyond the field of archaeology but they are basic information a team should have when setting up a research project in a new location because one or all of these factors will be influencing the work. A good handle on these factors will allow the team to negotiate problems that may arise such as health of the workers, political

uprisings, illegal antiquities trade, stealing from excavation sites, and dangerous situations due to economic resources or natural disasters.

Knowing the population that currently resides in the region is obligatory. This population will know the region far better then the archaeologists and team and ultimately has the vested interested in the area before and after the archaeology team. It is possible that the local population has artifacts in their homes or knows where archaeological remains can be found. One way to learn about the local area is to read historical books, ethnographies, newspapers, personal accounts, government reports and of course to visit the area. However, any one of these resources could be inaccurate or out of date and all will have a specific bias, but they could provide multiple avenues in building a base for the region.

To best understand and know the local community an extremely important aspect is ethnography training for archaeologists. Ethnographic training provides archaeologists with the tools to communicate with the local community. These tools will allow archaeologists to critically examine the relationships with community members and allow for interviews, focus groups, and a deeper understanding of the living community. Yet, ethnographic training is vital for all archaeologists, not just in the situation of community archaeology, because more now than ever archaeologists are faced working with living people. Today most archaeologists work in Cultural Resource Management firms that must manage projects in many areas such as government, individual land owners, historical registries, amateur collectors, museums, students, and universities. Archaeology is no longer only an academic

pursuit, but can be a for profit venture to save historic and prehistoric information before the building of new highways, schools, and homes. Yet, archaeology also involves forensic anthropologists studying material remains from clandestine graves and crime sites. Archaeology in the modern world is a science that must work with people on a daily basis and ethnographic tools such as participant observation, interview techniques, and critical examination of relationships will only improve archaeologists' repertoire (Please see Methodology Appendix 5).

To excel while working directly with the community, the team should have an understanding of the current issues and problems that face the particular community in which they will be working, specifically this should be the job of the project ethnographer or community/archaeology project liaison. These can range from large community problems such as a lack of clean water, the need for educational materials, or a need for a new road to small scale issues such as intra community contentions between families or groups, religious affiliations or even weddings and funerals for individual families, depending on the size of the community. As time progresses, the team will be a part of these issues and problems whether they want to be or not. It is better to have a sense of local and town dynamics to better understand how to communicate. A key to understanding the dynamics is by identifying and building strong relationships within the community which will be covered in an upcoming section. If the team prepares and first learns about and attempts to understand the local culture, the issues, language, and worldview of the people, the archaeologist has a better opportunity to work with the people (Lewis 1985: 41).

Anthropology provides a set of tools to understand humans through material culture such as in the case of archaeology while ethnography explains the cultural beliefs and knowledge of living populations. Anthropology focuses on the human aspect while scientifically evaluating material culture, human culture and relationships.

Another aspect of ethnographic training and working with communities is language training. It is beneficial if the Principal Investigator and others working with the project to have good speaking knowledge of the language where the team will be working. The team will have a better opportunity working in the area if they have good communication. In cases where the team cannot speak the language, translators that are trusted should be used. Yet, it is vital to have a translator that will be able to work within the framework that team gives to them, as to not offend the local community in a way the archaeologists did not intend. In the case of Guatemala, it is Spanish, however it is important to account for the indigenous languages in the area and respect that for many people Spanish is their second language. The Maya languages spoken today is not the exact language of the ancient Maya glyphs, however many commonalities, words, and a definite worldview is shared. If the team members cannot speak the local language, learning greetings in the local indigenous language will show respect and care for the local population.

Communication is the paramount factor for the entire process. If there is not discussion and communication between the locals and members of the research team then collaboration will be difficult. It is important to utilize multiple levels of collaboration which will enable more members of the team and community to be

involved. The principal investigator should be in contact and directing the project along with members of the community. Yet, also members of the team can and should be in dialogue with the community. For example, a ceramist expert could work with a local potter to find clay sources and current pottery production. Archaeology students in the university could provide talks to classrooms or lead tours of the site or laboratory. Uniquely, collaboration provides levels of work and understanding; it is not a unilateral explanation and understanding of the project.

When with the community, there are multiple modes of communication, but the most direct and useful could be discussion between the archaeologists and members of the community. Other modes of communication such as telephone, email, letters, and liaisons are feasible but do not provide the level of personal communication that face-to-face discussion provides. Yet, the archaeologists should attempt to communicate with the community as much as possible in the ways they understand. Open communication will enhance the work and hopefully the community will feel able to talk to the archaeologists about problems or questions. Preparation in vital in a project such as this and once a strong scientific multidisciplinary team has been assembled but many other steps are to follow.

Ethics. Essential in every aspect of the project are the ethical considerations. The ethical areas that must be investigated and defined by the archaeology project are the responsibilities to: 1) the archaeological record 2) diverse publics (local community, governments, religious etc.) and 3) colleagues, employees and students (please see Zimmerman, Vitelli, and Hollowell-Zimmer 2003). These areas should

each be addressed, many of which can be discussed from the Codes of Ethics and Standards found in Chapter 2 and the Appendices 1-4.

Ethical codes are vital to include. But all codes can and are interpreted in many ways. The community and archaeology project could possibly share the same set of ethics and work together. Yet most commonly, the archaeology project will have their idea of ethics and the community will have theirs. This does not mean they must loose each perspective and compromise to form one set of ethics, the fact is learning to coexist. Just as there are over 30 different dominations of churches in Chocolá, they coexist in the community with different philosophies. Translating this to the community is vital. Never should the community always be favored over the archaeology or vice versa, at times discussions and compromises will occur and other times it must be ok to agree to disagree. Explaining these ideas to a community in the beginning is a large part of ethical understanding and building relationships.

Archaeologists have different trainings, preferences, and ideas about how projects should be run. Ethical considerations for some could easily be trampled, especially in a large, collaborative setting while working with the local community. It is better to establish common ground among the archaeologists and the community first before any dirt is moved.

Building Relationships. After an archaeologist has been oriented with representative literature about the community, the issues the community faces, and any experts who have worked in or with the community, it is highly advisable to be introduced to local people that are trusted and respected in the community. This entire

topic is difficult because identifying those who are actual leaders in the community is a challenge. At times, the real leaders are not those in the elected positions but those that are behind the scenes, those who may not be the first to greet you. Other times, they are the elected officials. Often, leaders may be in conflict with one another. This is integral to creating the successful and open communication (Lewis 1985:42).

Many archaeologists only enter into a new country in search of the dead. However, it is the living and future generations that are and will be most affected by the work performed. As a profession we should take all measures to ensure that the local living community is working with us. As pointed out by Andrew Crosby (2002) with archaeology in Fiji, the community should not just be notified of the project, they should be actively enrolled. Building, maintaining, and strengthening the relationships is the entire focus of the *Wahi ngaro* archaeological project in Taranaki, New Zealand. The venture is aimed at facilitating the Maori concerns (Allen et al 2002). This project also demonstrated that some areas do not follow traditional government structures; decisions can be made at the family level. It is important to understand and be able to interact with all levels of decision making and governing in the community.

A part of building relationships with a "community" is to understand how it is composed of multiple communities with which the archaeology project is working. Chocolá for example, is one community of 10,000 people. However, inside of the town are many different groups defined by religion, family, politics, sectors of town, or even soccer teams. At times, these groups are in conflict and will not be able to

communicate or work together. It is vital to try and reach out to as many groups and communities as possible without taking sides. At times groups will feel neglected or fragmented if they are not included in the project or have no knowledge of it and could become resentful. Although it is not possible to predict all of the outcomes or groups in anyone community it is essential to be cognizant of it. Although the multidisciplinary team cannot be savvy brokers of social relations, negotiating after delicate rivalries in the community, they can attempt to work with all groups and continue their work despite rivalries within the community.

It is best to work with the local government first, so they do not feel neglected or skipped. The project should also identify community leaders who are not working in the government but to whom community goes to for decisions. In Chocolá, many people look to the advice of the elderly men in the *cofradia,* others look to the pastors in the Evangelical churches, and many look to the teachers of the schools. Identifying the good leaders who want to work with you can be hard at times. It should be noted that many times the first person who comes to the project to help, or show around town, or present themselves as a leader of the community, often is not a real leader of the community. Often times, those that self-identify themselves as leaders of the community with many answers are not true leaders of the community but only want to get something out of working with the project. Identifying the good and bad leaders of town can at times be next to impossible so the team must do as best they can. The project ethnographer and project and community liaison should focus on identifying key contacts with whom to work. Yet, the team can only work within the

framework in which they are provided and knowing all the histories and conflicts of the community is not one of them.

A key to building relationships is the long term commitment. It maybe difficult for an archaeology project to know how long they will be working in one location but it is important to discuss with the community your tentative or provisional goals and agenda. A project must never promise more than it can do and should have some long term investment with the community. Long term commitment signifies that after the excavation and actual project in the area is finished, the team will provide results, information, and published materials to the community about the work. The reality is that every community archaeology project will not be stationed in one location for years; it could possibly be only a few weeks. The project has a certain responsibility to the community by staying in contact, educating them about what was found, and how this ties to the bigger world.

Yet, archaeologists should also not overstate or understate their ability. The decision to bring development projects brings even more questions; if the team will be in charge or will they be sponsored by outside NGO's and how they will work within the community? In Chocolá, PACH wanted to bring development projects for the town including help with the schools and trash cleanup. However, the archaeologists were extremely busy with archaeology and there was no one person in charge of development projects which resulted in the Principal Investigator being overstressed and overworked attempting to find granting agencies for the archaeology project and development projects while running the archaeology, volunteers, the

employers and relationships in the community. If a project is interested in development projects, the best avenue is to work with preexisting development projects or have a person on staff dedicated to working on this endeavor.

PACH not only promised jobs but also a bright future with an archaeology site, a museum, tourism and a boost in the town's economy. However, in three years this was not possible. Many in the community believed the archaeology project had done nothing to better the community as they promised. Realistic, short term goals are necessary. Short term goals show accomplishment and fulfillment of promises. Part of these goals could include how many people they will hire in the beginning of the season to hiring more people in the middle of the excavation season, holding 2 town assemblies or education sessions in one month or providing a day of where anyone from the community can tour the lab and site. Overall, realistic goals will demonstrate accomplishment, especially when many development projects are slow, long term projects.

The last aspect of building a relationship is contact. The community needs to have a method of contacting the team. Yet, this can be a difficult decision, because the team does not want to appear to be giving power to some by having the contact information but also should not appear to be granting power. Ideally, multiple members and groups should have the contact information of the archaeology project and the archaeology project should attempt to collect names and phone numbers of the groups and individuals with whom they are working. It is important that

archaeologists visit and contact the community during the off-season in order to maintain strong relationships and most importantly open communication.

Permission. Once a relationship has been established, it is important to have the permission of the person or entity that owns the land where the researcher will be working, and it is important for the researcher to make sure the proper owners are identified (Lewis 1985:42). It is also mandatory that archaeologists must be aware of any permits that must be filed and approved prior to any excavation, at the national, state or local governmental level. Not to mention, permits and permission can be found at the clan, religious, tribe, or family level as well. Overall, permission is an extremely difficult situation that delves into ethical questions as well as where an archaeologist team can go and ask permission. In Guatemala, an archaeologist must work hand in hand with the *Instituto de Antropología e Historia* (IDEAH). This government organization oversees all historical, archaeological, and ethnographic projects and artifacts in Guatemala. All archaeologists must be approved by IDEAH before excavating anywhere in Guatemala. IDEAH also ensures that for every foreign archaeologist working on a project there is a Guatemalan archaeologist. For example, if a project has a Principal Investigator or director from the United States, then this same project must have a Principal Investigator or director from Guatemala or the project will not continue. These two act as co-directors to oversee the project in the field and in the laboratory and both are required full time. When the Guatemalan co-director for PACH had to leave the project for health reasons, the American director immediately had to find a trained and licensed Guatemalan archaeologist to co-direct

the site. Furthermore, all of those foreign archaeologists working at a site must be registered with IDEAH and carry their cedula (foreign worker identification card) with them at all times. This identification card must be obtained for all foreign workers, anyone not from Guatemala, prior to starting the project.

Yet, in those areas where specific permits are not required permission is. Permission often will come in the form of a verbal agreement but if needed the archaeologists may form a contract, which should be decided by the archaeologists. This can be an extremely difficult task, as land ownership, especially in these post-colonial nations, is confusing. For example, in Chocolá, technically all the land is owned by ECA the coffee cooperative. However, an archaeologist cannot just approach the President and Vice President of ECA and ask to excavate, they must speak with the over 720 private land owners. However, this is not practical. For the PACH project to work first they discussed the plan with ECA, the representative of the 720 land owners but also they had to talk with the individual land owners in where they would be digging which usually was only about five at any given time. Yet, an important lessoned learned from the Chocolá project is communication and permission. The town felt misinformed about cultural patrimony and the use of their land and rejected the project.

Another added benefit is that the people in the community understand well the boundaries, which is difficult for outsiders. The specific geographic area should be well outlined so that everyone understands the exact region that will be worked upon. Sitting down with a map in hand or if there is not a map of town, sketching a map and

then discussing the specific traditionally named regions with the senior members of the community or entity can help those whose land will be affected to speak precisely.

When working in a community, especially those like Chocolá, the entire process can be halted if the town, community, or powerful individuals feel taken advantage or left out. As discussed in Chapter 2 the *Wahi ngaro* project allows the Maori tribe with whom they are working to read all of the publication materials and add their insights as well (Allen et al 2002). Some scientists believe this takes away from the scientific fact of data that has been uncovered but it could also possibly open the site for more interpretation. The concept of multivocality enables empowerment for the local people as well as a more reflexive and holistic story and understanding of the archaeological site. Allowing the local community to participate or individual entities can help correct errors, provide multivocal voices and can help to retain the permission and rapport. Yet the project needs to decide if they will grant ultimate veto power to the community or certain individuals. The terms of multivocality strives to bring many voices to the table, but when conflict arises, it can be difficult to decide if one voice should be vetoed or all should be included.

Employment. Employing the local community as much as possible is mandatory. Bringing in multiple outside employees when local people could be hired could cause serious issues in an economically depressed area. Yet, if there are disputes or problems between workers, bringing in outside employees could help to calm disputes but caution must be taken to not upset the dynamics of town.

Employing individuals within the local community is an important aspect of connecting with the community and maintaining a greater number of local people informed about the project. Employment brings money into the usually economically depressed areas. However caution must be exercised with the payment of informants for information during early stages for this can cause jealousy and rifts within the community (Lewis 1985: 43). Yet, this hopefully can be solved if the project is providing other jobs within the community.

For example, the town of Chocolá is suffering economically due to the low prices of coffee, the main export, but in reality there are few jobs if any. The archaeological projects presence created 40 to 50 jobs for 3 to 4 months a year with 3 or 4 employed year round. While this is extremely beneficial to those families that receive this help, in a town of 10,000, at the minimum we influence 30 families. The first two summers PACH was in operation, PACH approached the leaders of ECA to create a list of local people interested in working for the project. Automatically, bias is easily identifiable as friends, brothers, fathers, and sons of those in charge are first on the list. For archaeologists, the outsiders, attempting to understand the complex dynamics of these small communities is extremely challenging. Providing money directly to certain families and not others can cause problems, and choosing local workers should be a task done in as fair and equal manner as possible. The best options are to have an open sign up, so that anyone who is interested can apply, also gathering a list of names from the local government or leaders is another option. The final selection should be chosen at random to be fair to all.

In Chocolá, the 15 day work cycle allowed more people from around the community to benefit from employment. Basically, there were about seven or eight men that remained the entire summer as full time “crew chiefs”. They helped to train new men, keep the flow of work going, and were the staple of the excavation and reconnaissance. The other 30 workers or more rotated out every 15 days. As the summer continued, some workers became more permanent and at times when it came time to hire someone they were gone working another job for construction or agriculture. Many of the men in the town go where the work is and take anything that becomes available. The rotations benefited more families in the town and at the same time made more people aware of the project, become familiar with the project and learn about it instead of being wary of it. This is an important example, because the PACH project ultimately failed and one of the issues many interviewees revealed was problems among workers. It is necessary to learn from the PACH project, that hiring multiple family members when others in the community are awaiting jobs will cause problems. Employment is a vital for survival and should be treated with care by the team.

Another benefit to hiring locals is they usually have a deep sense of local knowledge of the surroundings which is an absolute necessity because it helps to fill the gaps foreigners are grappling with. Often the local employees will already know where ancient mounds are, were ceramics or other artifacts have been found and can help identify these areas. Applying this multi-vocal feature is extremely valuable in creating a ‘conversation’ of the past.

Explanation to the Community. Once the base foundations and relationships are formed it is necessary to explain all of the segments, details, and information about the project to any and all community members that would like to know. For example, a community forum held in the town hall as a presentation with an answer and question session describing the project, where it will take place, the overall goals, the types of equipment, machines, or tools that will be used is very important. Many of the local people may not be familiar with this type of equipment walking through their pastures or coffee fields and the better informed they are the safer they will feel. It is also important to explain the types of objects that are being excavated, where they will be kept, how they will be treated, and where they will be kept. Some will be concerned you are stealing it or digging for gold. By including the decisions of the community at every step of the project will help to maintain their vested interest. This project will affect the community and so they must have a voice in their future. This is a very difficult step but is vital.

Specifically it would be important to have local leaders or trusted members of the community explain the project and demonstrate it to the people. Yet, it is *not* the responsibility of the leaders or elders in the community to pass on the information about the project with everyone in the community. It is the job of the project to create positive public relations in the community. It is necessary in the future to have the local communities not only involved but also directing archaeological projects. Community started programs will sprout from these initiatives to include indigenous and local communities in archaeology. The most important facet is to understand

what explanations and methods will work with the community. Other options are holding classes and having tours of the archaeological work or laboratory. If the community is more educated they maybe more inclined to understand the benefits and allow it to remain. For example, PACH was only able to offer a class on ancient Maya history and archaeology during one season. Almost all of the workers of the project attended. Many really enjoyed learning about the Maya as they never had the opportunity before. Another important class that should have been held in Chocolá is one about Cultural Patrimony, the Laws, and what Cultural Patrimony Protection means in Guatemala.

It is necessary in the future to have the local communities and populations not only involved but also directing archaeological projects, as Crosby concludes with his work in Fiji (Crosby 2002). Community started programs will sprout from these initiatives to include indigenous and local communities in archaeology. The most important facet is to understand what explanations and methods will work with the community and have team members dedicated to this specific area of the project.

Community Involvement/Continuation of the Project. This step will hopefully ensure the life of the project (which could be weeks, five years, or twenty years), the community, as well as the importance of a good, strong relationship between archaeology and indigenous communities. It would be beneficial is the multidisciplinary team could create a benefit aside from knowledge of the past for the community. This can be in many forms such as: employment, local history, oral history projects, cultural patrimony rights, interpretation of artifacts, documentation,

museums, and development projects. The archaeologists can work with the local schools to implement oral history projects; students must interview family members, grand parents, or others in the community about the history, they can use photographs, recordings, or drawings, and create a public display of the historical lessons that were learned. Classes can be held on cultural patrimony and understanding the value of history and placing the archaeology on the world level, often what many local communities for example in Guatemala have never had exposure. Including the community on the interpretation of artifacts can be easy. A few days a month, set up tables with artifacts and allow people to come, see them, touch them if possible and tell stories or explain what they think about the objects. Many projects are simple but work to include the community at every step of the project.

As demonstrated with the PACH project, community involvement and understanding is vital to the life of the project. In order to work in a community, especially one that may not be familiar with the work of archaeologists, it is necessary to involve them in as many ways as possible with the project. Of course there will never be one hundred percent support from the community but having good rapport with the majority of the community is necessary.

Collection of Materials. A strong area of contention is collecting materials whether skeletal, ceramic, or stone, unearthing items from the past needs an appropriate method. Before excavation can begin a clear and outlined method agreed upon by the community and the archaeologists should be created. This method should

include clear details on how all of the items will be collected, handled, tested, damaged, compared, stored, and possibly reburied (Lewis 1985: 43).

Archaeologists should make sure that at all times, the community members understand the archaeologist is not taking these materials for only personal benefit. It is important to be reflexive and honest with local populations, descendant communities, and all stakeholders about what and how all of the artifacts will be used. The archaeologist is in some aspects using the artifacts, the site and information for personal benefit. They have questions they would like to answer, articles, thesis, dissertations, and books to write that will also benefit the archaeologist. It is in this context where it is good to be explicit in what the goals of the archaeology project are, the personal and group goals. The artifacts will not be taken home and put over the fireplace at the homes of the archaeologists (we hope) but the poster presentation and pictures may.

The next decision is to decide where the collected materials will be housed during the archaeological project and once the project is complete and all materials analyzed. First, it is important to recognize all federal and state laws about artifact curation, storage, and display. Yet, there are also ethical concerns that could possibly force an archaeologist to question some of the rules and permits. Ethical questions such as excavation of skeletal remains, the storage or display of skeletal remains or artifacts found with burials are extremely important. Should these items be exhumed, kept, displayed or studied. The local community could consider them close relatives or possibly does not want to disturb bodies that have been buried. These concerns

should all be laid out and agreed upon before one shovel of dirt is completed. When PACH outlined the goals for the archaeological project, a large aspect was community development. One aspect that was outlined was to create a community museum with the artifacts from the site. Many archaeological sites such as Tikal, Copan (Honduras), Iximche, Qumarkaaj, and Kaminaljuyu have museums located at the archaeological site holding artifacts from the site. The museums range in size from very small to large, most having maps of excavation, the site, and photographs from different time periods in the last 100 years. The overall idea was to attempt to create a place to house many (probably not all due to the massive quantity of artifacts recovered from Maya sites) artifacts on display for the community and visitors to see. These museums are usually tied into the government through Cultural Patrimony laws. Once the site is declared as a protected area and set up as a park under Guatemalan law, the *Ministerio de Deportes* is in charge of upkeep, protection, and hiring guards (IDEAH).

It is under this auspice where the community needs to be informed of each step and have all of the knowledge of cultural patrimony laws and what could possibly occur. In Chocolá, this is where the project archaeologists and the community failed to communicate properly and resulted in stopping excavation. More of this will be covered in the documentation and information section.

It is within the parameters of the federal and local law, the ethical concerns, archaeological concerns, and local stakeholders demands that an archaeologist must work. Once these rules are followed, the archaeologist should and the local

community should then attempt to work out an agreement to where the artifacts should be stored or displayed. Overall, it will behoove the archaeologist, especially for a long-term project to attempt to agree with the community as to how and where to store the collected material (Lewis 1985: 43). It is vital that at all times the archaeologist must work to foster the relationship with the community. Yet, the community too, has a responsibility to work with the archaeological project for this is a collaborative process. The concern for and care of cultural remains is an extremely important issue that needs to be approached with care and collaboration so the correct decisions are made.

Documentation. Documenting and reporting the finds at the archaeology site is good scientific practice. It is important though that documentation be applied for several areas: 1) national and state 2) the community, the public, and 3) academic colleagues, students, employees. It is important to provide documentation for the nation or state, often a report for each field season must be completed. In order to maintain a strong and working relationship the researcher should always share findings and receive feedback from the community. This is difficult however, because the archaeologists must decide what information and how much is safe to provide due to instances of looting or even destroying excavation sites. Looting is an extreme issue in Guatemala, especially in the lowlands where many of the classic Maya sites are large and have ceramics that sought after on the international market. At times, looting can be non-malicious, but simply collecting. Most rural Guatemalans are not aware of the cultural patrimony and protection laws for archaeology sites and

artifacts. Many people collect artifacts, display them at home, or even sell them. Pakal Balam in Tecpan has been collecting Maya artifacts for years and recently opened a museum in his home. This community museum allows local Kaqchikel and others to come and learn about the Maya in the Kaqchikel language and in Spanish.

Including the community in the writing of reports, interpretation of artifacts, and compilation of the materials is another bond in the relationship (Lewis 1985:44). A necessity that is often overlooked is that any work published in the language of the archaeologist, should also be published in the language of the community. The language of the community, also does not exactly mean the local indigenous language, but language that many in the community can understand, not just scientific reporting. It is important to note, that a direct translation of technical terms straight from a report may not be the best material to provide the community, but rather usable information and text for a majority of the community is best. For if foreign archaeologists only publish in their own language, archaeology is viewed as the colonizer, using the locals for information and not facilitating the community to learn and understand what was gained from the project.

Development Projects. Often, community archaeology is associated with development projects. This usually is most important for the communities and can increase the interest of the community. However, this is an area where the team must be prepared to work as development projects are extremely long term and involve many people and institutions. The archaeology project must decide if they will do archaeology and development hand in hand and if so, what type of projects will they

support. Many archaeology projects that simultaneously do development work often in the realm of museums, tourism, and education. The most important aspect is to not promise more then the project is capable of. Often times, development projects or archaeology projects could accidentally promise more than they are capable of. This can easily damage the relationships with the community.

Legal concerns can be an issue for the protection of the project and by developing a non-profit organization to separately account for the development projects and money is necessary. Development projects and archaeology can work well together, but as discussed earlier it is most beneficial to have a person specifically in charge of the development aspects of the project that is familiar with development procedures. This also allows the archaeologists to focus on the archaeology. In Chocolá and El Pilar non-profit groups have been formed to help with the development aspects of the projects. Amigos de Chocolá and Amigos de El Pilar are both non-profit organizations dedicated to community development while collaborating with the archaeologists. These groups handle the fundraising, development projects for museums, local schools, and tourism and work with the archaeologists to develop the projects but these groups do not do archaeology.

Overall this methodology is an outline, a suggestion of how to work with a local community. Each community will be different and have their unique issues, problems and solutions and each archaeologist will have to respond and be flexible. Yet, this methodology hopefully provides the ideas every archaeology project working in the modern world should approach. Archaeology in Guatemala is different

then in the 1940s, 50s, and 60s, a higher ethical standard is demanded as local communities and indigenous groups find and assert their rights. It is the goal to work together to maintain archaeology as a profession and protect world heritage.

Chapter 6
Conclusion

A collaborative methodology is not a utopia; in fact it might not work. Wrestling with our current age of ethics, that all voices at the table have equal standing, is extremely difficult. Incorporating all voices demonstrates there is not one truth, there is not one history. There is not just the community's story versus the scientist's story either. There are many histories simultaneously represented in many ways: by archaeologists, the Catholic Church, the aj'qija, the evangelical pastors, the government, new age religious groups, and the locals. These stories will continue to coexist, and archaeologists do not have the job to tell the communities story, we can never get it all right, but we can be a tool to help explain their story.

This research focuses on the implicit lack of, and need for, archaeological projects to collaborate with local communities. It openly acknowledges that the archaeological process inevitably and unintentionally leads to change and development within the community, for better and worse. There is a need for the juxtaposition of anthropology, archaeology, and development in order to ensure the betterment of the community and maintain archaeology projects. PACH defined its goals to include community in the archaeology process and development and it was successful in creating a multivocal discourse for a limited time. However, the archaeology project was forced to leave Chocolá when individual community members believed their interests were being overlooked. This happened due to a lack of communication, a breakdown in multivocality between the archaeologists,

government inspectors and community residents. Yet, the community has their faults due to years of civil war, the suspicion of outsiders is high, which led them to quickly jump to conclusions and finally instead of contacting the archaeologists, they listened to rumors. Also, the community has its fair share of gossip and jealousy that drives wedges between neighbors, friends, and eventually outsiders. Learning from this project is absolutely essential in order to continue with archaeology in the modern world.

It is evident that communities are claiming their positions as stakeholders in their heritage. The community of Tecpan is a key example of a community active in their heritage and provides a particularly important look at a modern Maya community with vast archaeological resources. The ajqi'ja' in Tecpan have united and created their own ideas of what archaeologists should do to work in the region, yet still uninvestigated are the interests of the Catholic, Evangelical, and political communities. These two communities, Tecpan and Chocolá, present the opportunities for successful archaeology, to explore local heritage beliefs, a chance to understand multivocality and collaboration but overall demonstrate the real-world situations archaeologists must face in Highland Guatemala and worldwide.

As archaeologists interested in the preservation of history and culture, we should know to respect local interests and not be of a colonial, imposing nature. And this could possibly never change until we have more local residents and community members that are archaeologists. Exploring the changing relationship between archaeology and anthropology, Gosden (1999) believes that archaeologists have a

new role placed upon them. They must be sensitive to cultural beliefs and ideas of past and present cultures--something that historically has been the job of non-archaeological anthropologists (Gosden 1999:10). This role is transforming due to indigenous peoples worldwide having increased access to education and political activity. Gosden notes that in most areas of the world, it is unthinkable and illegal to excavate without first obtaining permission from the local population. A major reason for this is to certify that the archaeological work performed will respect the communities (Godsen 1999:11). Utilizing ethics, the knowledge and interpretations of descendant communities, and creating lasting impressions in communities, "archaeology can have truly collaborative, diverse, non-hierarchal public archaeological projects" (McDavid 2002:312)

Reconstructing views of the past is always dealing with a different culture in which archaeologists are trained. However, caution is necessary because if archaeologists disregard or devalue the opinions of the local cultures around them they commit 'sheer colonialism' (Stone 1989). Colonialism as defined by Webster's Dictionary is the "exploitation by a stronger country of weaker one; the use of the weaker country's resources to strengthen and enrich the stronger country" (Webster's Dictionary 2003). Archaeologists do not want to be viewed as exploiters of a culture or cultural heritage but rather an ally in understanding and protecting the cultural patrimony. It is possible to understand other cultures; however it is impossible to escape bias. Local communities and archaeologists alike have bias. Yet, good anthropologists and archaeologists are trained to critically analyze situations in hopes

to remove some bias. The hope is that through multivocality we can bridge differences and misunderstandings yet the challenge is to leave room for science.

Archaeologists need to acknowledge that they provide interpretations based upon their observations of the archaeological record (Binford 1982:149). People of different cultural traditions may find features important that Western archaeology does not, which solidifies the bias of including only conventional Western ideas (Layton 1989: 10). Western ideas could fail to include the beliefs of the living Maya because often in Guatemala it is apparent that Maya go unrecognized as a contemporary culture. Clemency Coggins (2000) explains the brutal reality for most Guatemalan Maya, "the modern and ancient Maya are, however, perceived very differently; the former, while colorful remains an unreliable underclass, whereas the latter have become the second largest source of national revenue after coffee" (108). At times it is a wonder how the Maya have survived the ancient collapse, European colonization, and contemporary acculturation (Castaneda 1996:150 and Coggins 2000: 108). If archaeologists are to work with living communities, it is critical for archaeology to consider descendants because it is clear that most every community will have interest in their pasts, for symbols and values of material culture are shared within the populace (Layton: 1989: 11). Multidisciplinary teams of scientists and local community members are what can achieve the ultimate goal of better understanding. It is the hope that through creating a methodology of collaborative archaeology, archaeologists can work with communities in a new role, not a role of oppressor but as collaborator.

It is clear that "the tension between claiming the stones and naming the bones is inherent in the 20th century Latin American political and intellectual movement known as *indigenismo* which recognizes and values the aboriginal cultures of the Americans while seeking to redress the… historical injustices of European dominated" (Coggins 2000: 97). In Latin America the Maya movement wants to establish their right as respected people, just as the American Indian Movement began in the 1970s.

In 1990, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) was passed to benefit Americans. Now, in the United States many times the relations between archaeologists and some Native Americans are strained due the new law because the law limits the work of archaeologists. Yet, it has also fostered mutual respect. Now, some archaeologists and Native Americans are able to communicate, because there is a guideline about protection and how remains should be treated. NAGPRA has spurred many benefits for both sides of the debate. However, if archaeologists in Latin America act on the forefront and begin working relationships with the new *indigenismo* movements, progress towards a mutual table will be possible, rather than costly court cases like Kennewick Man (Thomas 2000). Overall "there are signs of hope that archaeology is moving into a theoretical maturity that accepts some of the critiques of post-colonial analysis" (Ardren 2002: 396) and at this interface archaeology is now able to create a collaboration that is a conversation of the past rather than a truth written by only one voice.

Indigenous archaeology is archaeology "with, for, and by aboriginal peoples", and is growing worldwide and demonstrating the importance of *involving* the indigenous communities not only consulting the indigenous communities (Nicholas 2001: 31). Whether some adhere to the situation through informal political correctness or by a formal code of ethics, this participation "of non-Western peoples has brought new insight and challenges to archaeology" and overall will be a positive move towards the betterment of the field (Nicholas 2001: 31).

Learning how to incorporate local communities can come through their own identification process, such as at Utatlan and the "invention of tradition" (Hanson 1989). Local communities and indigenous communities are defining their own identities often related to their history, but now with the protection of indigenous rights, the process is more visible. Durkheim realized the importance of signifiers, which are the physical embodiment of collective thoughts and values when he wrote, 'without symbols, social sentiments could have only a precarious existence' (Durkheim 1915: 231 in Layton: 1989:11). Interpreting this is critical for archaeology because it is clear that many communities will have interest in their past, for symbols and values of material culture are shared within the populace, even though it will not happen in a universal way (Layton: 1989: 11).

In synopsis, archaeologists cannot be detached from the discipline of anthropology, because they are interpreting the continuity of a living culture that could be different from their own. All initiatives must be taken to consider the foundation and respect of the people (Condori 1989:47). For example, an Aymara

from Bolivia, Carlos Mamami Condori, relates his frustration when the Portuguese do not consider the Aymara cultural concerns at archaeological sites. The interpretation of the ruins *Qalasayana* for the Aymara translates to upright or standing stone. The Portuguese renamed the site *Q'allamarka* that means 'origin of the city', and this version fits their interpretation better than the original. Condori strongly feels this is wrong because Aymara extensive oral tradition has preserved these names and the outsiders distort the tradition to fit their ideology (Condori 1989:48). However, at the same time, indigenous populations are also distorting history and facts to fit their ideology. There is always more than one side to a story and the claim by Condori is valid, but he also does not account for the Portuguese understanding of the Ayamra site. The Pan-Mayan Movement in Guatemala is also utilizing history and archaeology as a way to fit their ideology.

Pakal B'alam, a linguist for the Kaqchikel language, explained that archaeologists have repeated the same errors in Guatemala (personal communication 2003). Mesoamerican archaeologists used *Ab'aj Tak'alik* as a site name which means Standing Stone, however in correct K'iche' Mayan it is written and read as *Tak'alik Ab'aj* (Personal Communication 2003). B'alam explained the correction as follows:

> Tak'al is a positional word derived from the positional root tak'. Tak' means stand. Then tak'al-ik is a new word derived from tak'al by adding the suffix ik. In fact, tak'alik is an adjective, meaning standing, and this is why it must be placed before the noun [abaj]. In Kaqchikel, like in English, the adjective goes before the noun and written correctly is tak'alik abaj. Thus the wrong name: Abaj tak'alik, has an obvious mistake (Pakal B'alam, Personal Communication 2003).

This small detail may seem trivial and unimportant. Yet, when taken in context it shows disrespect and carelessness. If a person from another culture published a book about the United States history and wrote Liberty Statue, Monument Washington, and Lincoln Memorial Abraham, United States citizens could be offended, saddened, humored, or not even care. There is more than one voice that should be involved but next to difficult to discern what voice or voices will be heard. Yet in Guatemala, the treatment of history is the most offensive when taken in the context of specific indigenous history. Years of genocide and civil war in Guatemala destroyed many indigenous communities, by misusing indigenous languages and names, the disrespect only continues. However, respect for indigenous heritage could be changing because in 2006, the name was officially changed to Tak'alik Ab'aj (Sharer and Traxler 2006).

Does archaeology want to invent the history of ancient cultures or interpret the informed meaning of ancient material culture? This fine line can make the difference between imposing western ideals and creating a holistic view of a culture. Castaneda (1996) believes archaeologists, iconographers, and epigraphers personify themselves as the only specialists that are able to listen to the stories told by the ceramic shards and stones (Castaneda 1996:155). This is not an accurate picture of archaeologists. I believe that most archaeologists want to interpret sites in the most honest and unbiased way possible. The individuals studying these objects, such as ceramic sherds, attempt to be objective while interpreting and of course there is an amount of subjectivity presence because as discussed before some amount of bias is always

present. This is the difficulty of practicing archaeology in the world today. Many are quick to critique archaeologists, but archaeologists are trained to study and understand the past in search of more knowledge for all. Although collaboration is an ultimate goal must archaeology always be subordinate to ideology? Can we avoid critical analysis if it results in conflict and is consensus always to be privileged over the production of knowledge? The reality of archaeology today is not simple. Archaeologists cannot just dig and take artifacts back to the museum. Today, we are held to a higher ethic standard, one that respects all people, deceased, alive, and those generations yet to come. Ethical debates have become a large part of out profession as noticed in the multiple codes of ethics that are currently provided for archaeologists. The issue is utilizing ethical codes within our work and not only writing them. I believe archaeologists can work towards the benefit of science and knowledge while collaborating and sharing with communities. It will not work in every community or excavation but it is an option for archaeology that must work in communities.

What occurs when archaeologists and local communities cannot communicate or collaborate? The Kennewick Man case is an example of how collaborating with the descendant communities possibly could have prevented a long court case, or at least would have started including all relevant peoples in the identification of the Ancient One (NAGPRA, Thomas 2000) rather then involving lawyers at the start. The years of battle over this 9000-year-old skeleton prove that working together does not always mean collaborating. Within the Kennewick Man case, the descendant communities like the Umatilla consider they again lost to the colonizing oppressor.

Now is the time for archaeologists to grasp post-colonial archaeology and apply it for "one of archaeology's greatest challenges is to be both responsive and relevant to what have been called 'descendant communities' (Ardren 2002: 390-391). There is a strong need for a post colonial and decolonization framework that demands the ideas and input of indigenous cultures, but primarily answers the voices of descendant communities.

The most important aspect for archaeologists and local communities to understand is that this is a long, slow process that might not work but in the best case circumstances result in benefits and long-lasting relationships with the community and the archaeology project that will create a more holistic and multi-vocal understanding of the many pasts. One of the most important aspects is the presence of the archaeologists in the community, communicating and collaborating with the people. It is the hope that the community will place a vested interest in the project and the archaeologists can demonstrate that they care about the living, not only the dead. Although the living is not the primary concern of archaeologists, it is mandatory that archaeologists realize the importance of the living when working in local communities.

In order to have multivocal anthropology, a multidisciplinary team of scientists, local residents and interested participants is necessary for this goal to be achieved. The community should be welcomed to learn about the project and share their interpretations. They should not only be employed by the project, but be taught the possibilities of employing this knowledge in their town and future in order to preserve

elements of their heritage. It is absolutely essential that segments of the project remain under local control at each step of the process, while establishing improved living standards and self sufficiency for the local community. Segments of the project could be laboratory work, community members should be involved in creating the space, helping to clean, sort, and organize artifacts, and at all times, learning about the project. Another segment is community presentation. Instead of only having the archaeologists present the material about the project, have local community members working with the project teach or share about their work.

Often, most of these archaeology projects will not originate locally; and the question of who has ultimate control over the project and results must be discussed. Dr. Anabel Ford believes that, "local communities are the ultimate custodians of their history and environment. Our task is to prove they also are the ultimate beneficiaries" (Ford 2004). How can we communicate this to communities? This is a difficult task because there are multiple sections, interests and beliefs in any one community. This is a challenge that could never be solved, even if the community is involved in every segment of the project. The challenge is identifying what will work, which is why a multidisciplinary team of residents and scientists will have a better chance. If an archaeology project loses its connection with the community, it is extremely difficult regain the lost confidence. Even with well-outlined goals and communication at the beginning of the project, it is essential that the local community have joint decision making in each step of the process.

The excavation, study and preservation of the important cultural heritage in Chocolá could be a cornerstone to the future prosperity of the town, however once the community lost a vested interest with the project they no longer shared the vision of the archaeologists. At one time, a large amount of the Chocolá community was in agreement with PACH and the plans for the future. The doubt about the project began and soon found others who never supported the project to quickly denounce the project. This was a harsh but serious reality for the PACH project; learning that large segments of the community did not know or understand the project even after multiple years in residence, local employment, and community forums. This example demonstrates that possibly community archaeology will not work, which is why we should employ collaborative archaeology. Not all of the community will always be pleased or understand that project, but it is the hope that we can collaborate with as many residents of a town as possible in order to scientifically excavate and preserve a site while respecting the local culture and community.

In order for archaeologists to understand and correctly identify collaborative and community archaeologies ethics must be part of a learning curriculum in college and in archaeological resource management firms. Utilizing ethics, the knowledge and interpretations of descendant communities, and creating lasting impressions in communities archaeology can have truly collaborative, diverse, non-hierarchal public archaeological projects" (McDavid 2002:312). McDavid's ideas to move "past the concerns of a 'democratic archaeology' into a larger arena, where citizens can

actively attempt to use archaeology to create a more democratic society" is exactly what a collaborative archeology should be (McDavid 2002: 312).

Archaeology can be more that it has been, as some archeologists have demonstrated, it can be active and present in the modern world. Archaeology can be a local movement to utilize thoughts and activities of the past to better the future. It is highly possible that

> with a little more imagination archaeologists will see that anything that raises the level of the debate and increases the involvement of people in the past will ultimately challenge and thereby enrich their own interpretations (Crosby 2002: 376).

Crosby (2002) is challenging archaeologists to utilize a multivocal interpretation in their work. It is an opportunity to obtain more data and more information and through the inclusion of the local community, hopefully make our interpretations and theirs richer. Chocolá and Tecpan teach archaeologists how to better understand the needs of local communities and how to interact with them. Archaeologists must react to the modern world and incorporate living populations into their work in order to continue the profession of archaeology. Archaeology is a way to learn about our future from our a past, a necessary understanding of the human condition, but as long as archaeologists continue to resist the change and attempt to keep archaeology as the only authority on the past, local communities will continue to oppose and limit archaeological research. Yet it is possible that conflict will always be present, it is the hope in reducing it. The local communities are deep resources that will enrich our interpretations and help us to imagine a brighter future for archaeology on one hand, while also they can be a source of conflict for archaeologists. I look forward to a

collaborative archaeology that creates a conversation about the past with a multidisciplinary team from academia and the local community working together to promote heritage and archaeology.

Appendix 1

First Code of Ethics

Adopted by WAC Council in 1990 at WAC-2, Barquisimeto, Venezuela

Principles to Abide By:

Members agree that they have obligations to indigenous peoples and that they shall abide by the following principles:

1. To acknowledge the importance of indigenous cultural heritage, including sites, places, objects, artefacts, human remains, to the survival of indigenous cultures.

2. To acknowledge the importance of protecting indigenous cultural heritage to the well-being of indigenous peoples.

3. To acknowledge the special importance of indigenous ancestral human remains, and sites containing and/or associated with such remains, to indigenous peoples.

4. To acknowledge that the important relationship between indigenous peoples and their cultural heritage exists irrespective of legal ownership.

5. To acknowledge that the indigenous cultural heritage rightfully belongs to the indigenous descendants of that heritage.

6. To acknowledge and recognise indigenous methodologies for interpreting, curating, managing and protecting indigenous cultural heritage.

7. To establish equitable partnerships and relationships between Members and indigenous peoples whose cultural heritage is being investigated.

8. To seek, whenever possible, representation of indigenous peoples in agencies funding or authorising research to be certain their view is considered as critically important in setting research standards, questions, priorities and goals.

Rules to Adhere to:

Members agree that they will adhere to the following rules prior to, during and after their investigations:

1. Prior to conducting any investigation and/or examination, Members shall with

rigorous endeavour seek to define the indigenous peoples whose cultural heritage is the subject of investigation.

2. Members shall negotiate with and obtain the informed consent of representatives authorized by the indigenous peoples whose cultural heritage is the subject of investigation.

3. Members shall ensure that the authorised representatives of the indigenous peoples whose culture is being investigated are kept informed during all stages of the investigation.

4. Members shall ensure that the results of their work are presented with deference and respect to the identified indigenous peoples.

5. Members shall not interfere with and/or remove human remains of indigenous peoples without the express consent of those concerned.

6. Members shall not interfere with and/or remove artefacts or objects of special cultural significance, as defined by associated indigenous peoples, without their express consent.

7. Members shall recognise their obligation to employ and/or train indigenous peoples in proper techniques as part of their projects, and utilise indigenous peoples to monitor the projects.

The new Code should not be taken in isolation; it was seen by Council as following on from WAC's adoption of the Vermillion Accord passed in 1989 at the South Dakota Inter-Congress.

The Vermillion Accord on Human Remains

Adopted in 1989 at WAC Inter-Congress, South Dakota, USA.

1. Respect for the mortal remains of the dead shall be accorded to all, irrespective of origin, race, religion, nationality, custom and tradition.

2. Respect for the wishes of the dead concerning disposition shall be accorded whenever possible, reasonable and lawful, when they are known or can be reasonably inferred.

3. Respect for the wishes of the local community and of relatives or guardians of the dead shall be accorded whenever possible, reasonable and lawful.

4. Respect for the scientific research value of skeletal, mummified and other human

remains (including fossil hominids) shall be accorded when such value is demonstrated to exist.

5. Agreement on the disposition of fossil, skeletal, mummified and other remains shall be reached by negotiation on the basis of mutual respect for the legitimate concerns of communities for the proper disposition of their ancestors, as well as the legitimate concerns of science and education.

6. The express recognition that the concerns of various ethnic groups, as well as those of science are legitimate and to be respected, will permit acceptable agreements to be reached and honoured.

The Tamaki Makau-rau Accord on the Display of Human Remains and Sacred Objects

Proposed in November, 2005 at WAC Inter-Congress, Auckland, New Zealand. Adopted by WAC Council in January, 2006, WAC Inter-Congress, Osaka, Japan

In recognition of the principles adopted by the Vermillion Accord, the display of human remains and sacred objects is recognised as a sensitive issue. Human remains include any organic remains and associated material. Sacred objects are those that are of special significance to a community. Display means the presentation in any media or form of human remains and sacred objects, whether on a single occasion or on an ongoing basis, including conference presentations or publications. Community may include, but is not limited to, ethnic, racial, religious, traditional or Indigenous groups of people.

WAC reiterates its commitment to scientific principles governing the study of the human past. We agree that the display of human remains or sacred objects may serve to illuminate our common humanity. As archaeologists, we believe that good science is guided by ethical principles and that our work must involve consultation and collaboration with communities. The members of the WAC council agree to assist with making contacts within the affected communities.

Any person(s) or organisation considering displaying such material or already doing so should take account of the following principles:

1. Permission should be obtained from the affected community or communities.

2. Should permission be refused that decision is final and should be respected.

3. Should permission be granted, any conditions to which that permission is subject should be complied with in full.

4. All display should be culturally appropriate.

5. Permission can be withdrawn or amended at any stage and such decisions should be respected.

6. Regular consultation with the affected community should ensure that the display remains culturally appropriate.

Taken from: http://www.worldarchaeologicalcongress.org/site/about_ethi.php#code1

Appendix 2

SAA Principles of Archaeological Ethics

Keith W. Kintigh

At its April 10, 1996, meeting, the SAA Executive Board adopted the Principles of Archaeological Ethics, reproduced below, as proposed by the SAA Ethics in Archaeology Committee. The adoption of these principles represents the culmination of an effort begun in 1991 with the formation of the ad-hoc Ethics in Archaeology Committee. The committee was charged with considering the need for revising the society's existing statements on ethics. A 1993 workshop on ethics, held in Reno, resulted in draft principles that were presented at a public forum at the 1994 annual meeting in Anaheim. SAA published the draft principles with position papers from the forum and historical commentaries in a special report distributed to all members, *Ethics and Archaeology: Challenges for the 1990s*, edited by Mark. J. Lynott and Alison Wylie (1995). Member comments were solicited in this special report, through a notice in *SAA Bulletin*, and at two sessions held at the SAA booth during the 1995 annual meeting in Minneapolis. The final principles presented here are revised from the original draft based on comments from members and the Executive Board.

The Executive Board strongly endorses these principles and urges their use by all archaeologists "in negotiating the complex responsibilities they have to archaeological resources, and to all who have an interest in these resources or are otherwise affected by archaeological practice" (Lynott and Wylie 1995:8). The board is grateful to those who have contributed to the development of these principles, especially the members of the Ethics in Archaeology Committee, chaired by Mark. J. Lynott and Alison Wylie, for their skillful completion of this challenging and important task. The bylaws change just voted by the members has established a new standing committee, the Committee on Ethics, to carry on with these crucial efforts.

Principle No. 1: Stewardship
The archaeological record, that is, in situ archaeological material and sites, archaeological collections, records and reports, is irreplaceable. It is the responsibility of all archaeologists to work for the long-tem conservation and protection of the archaeological record by practicing and promoting stewardship of the archaeological record. Stewards are both caretakers of and advocates for the archaeological record. In the interests of stewardship, archaeologists should use and advocate use of the archaeological record for the benefit of all people; as they investigate and interpret the record, they should use the specialized knowledge they gain to promote public understanding and support for its long-term preservation.

Principle No. 2: Accountability
Responsible archaeological research, including all levels of professional activity,

requires an acknowledgment of public accountability and a commitment to make every reasonable effort, in good faith, to consult actively with affected group(s), with the goal of establishing a working relationship that can be beneficial to all parties involved.

Principle No. 3: Commercialization
The Society for American Archaeology has long recognized that the buying and selling of objects out of archaeological context is contributing to the destruction of the archaeological record on the American continents and around the world. The commercialization of archaeological objects--their use as commodities to be exploited for personal enjoyment or profit--results in the destruction of archaeological sites and of contextual information that is essential to understanding the archaeological record. Archaeologists should therefore carefully weigh the benefits to scholarship of a project against the costs of potentially enhancing the commercial value of archaeological objects. Wherever possible, they should discourage, and should themselves avoid, activities that enhance the commercial value of archaeological objects, especially objects that are not curated in public institutions, or readily available for scientific study, public interpretation, and display.

Principle No. 4: Public Education and Outreach
Archaeologists should reach out to, and participate in, cooperative efforts with others interested in the archaeological record with the aim of improving the preservation, protection, and interpretation of the record. In particular, archaeologists should undertake to: 1) enlist public support for the stewardship of the archaeological record; 2) explain and promote the use of archaeological methods and techniques in understanding human behavior and culture; and 3) communicate archaeological interpretations of the past. Many publics exist for archaeology including students and teachers; Native Americans and other ethnic, religious, and cultural groups who find in the archaeological record important aspects of their cultural heritage; lawmakers and government officials; reporters, journalists, and others involved in the media; and the general public. Archaeologists who are unable to undertake public education and outreach directly should encourage and support the efforts of others in these activities.

Principle No. 5: Intellectual Property
Intellectual property, as contained in the knowledge and documents created through the study of archaeological resources, is part of the archaeological record. As such it should be treated in accord with the principles of stewardship rather than as a matter of personal possession. If there is a compelling reason, and no legal restrictions or strong countervailing interests, a researcher may have primary access to original materials and documents for a limited and reasonable time, after which these materials and documents must be made available to others.

Principle No. 6: Public Reporting and Publication
Within a reasonable time, the knowledge archaeologists gain from investigation of the archaeological record must be presented in accessible form (through publication or other means) to as wide a range of interested publics as possible. The documents and materials on which publication and other forms of public reporting are based should be deposited in a suitable place for permanent safekeeping. An interest in preserving and protecting in situ archaeological sites must be taken into account when publishing and distributing information about their nature and location.

Principle No. 7: Records and Preservation
Archaeologists should work actively for the preservation of, and long-term access to, archaeological collections, records, and reports. To this end, they should encourage colleagues, students, and others to make responsible use of collections, records, and reports in their research as one means of preserving the in situ archaeological record, and of increasing the care and attention given to that portion of the archaeological record which has been removed and incorporated into archaeological collections, records, and reports.

Principle No. 8: Training and Resources
Given the destructive nature of most archaeological investigations, archaeologists must ensure that they have adequate training, experience, facilities, and other support necessary to conduct any program of research they initiate in a manner consistent with the foregoing principles and contemporary standards of professional practice.

Appendix 3

Code of Ethics
of the American Anthropological Association

Approved June 1998

I. Preamble

Anthropological researchers, teachers and practitioners are members of many different communities, each with its own moral rules or codes of ethics. Anthropologists have moral obligations as members of other groups, such as the family, religion, and community, as well as the profession. They also have obligations to the scholarly discipline, to the wider society and culture, and to the human species, other species, and the environment. Furthermore, fieldworkers may develop close relationships with persons or animals with whom they work, generating an additional level of ethical considerations

In a field of such complex involvements and obligations, it is inevitable that misunderstandings, conflicts, and the need to make choices among apparently incompatible values will arise. Anthropologists are responsible for grappling with such difficulties and struggling to resolve them in ways compatible with the principles stated here. The purpose of this Code is to foster discussion and education. The American Anthropological Association (AAA) does not adjudicate claims for unethical behavior.

The principles and guidelines in this Code provide the anthropologist with tools to engage in developing and maintaining an ethical framework for all anthropological work.

II. Introduction

Anthropology is a multidisciplinary field of science and scholarship, which includes the study of all aspects of humankind--archaeological, biological, linguistic and sociocultural. Anthropology has roots in the natural and social sciences and in the humanities, ranging in approach from basic to applied research and to scholarly interpretation.

As the principal organization representing the breadth of anthropology, the American Anthropological Association (AAA) starts from the position that generating and appropriately utilizing knowledge (i.e., publishing, teaching, developing programs, and informing policy) of the peoples of the world, past and present, is a worthy goal; that the generation of anthropological knowledge is a dynamic process using many

different and ever-evolving approaches; and that for moral and practical reasons, the generation and utilization of knowledge should be achieved in an ethical manner.

The mission of American Anthropological Association is to advance all aspects of anthropological research and to foster dissemination of anthropological knowledge through publications, teaching, public education, and application. An important part of that mission is to help educate AAA members about ethical obligations and challenges involved in the generation, dissemination, and utilization of anthropological knowledge.

The purpose of this Code is to provide AAA members and other interested persons with guidelines for making ethical choices in the conduct of their anthropological work. Because anthropologists can find themselves in complex situations and subject to more than one code of ethics, the AAA Code of Ethics provides a framework, not an ironclad formula, for making decisions.

Persons using the Code as a guideline for making ethical choices or for teaching are encouraged to seek out illustrative examples and appropriate case studies to enrich their knowledge base.

Anthropologists have a duty to be informed about ethical codes relating to their work, and ought periodically to receive training on current research activities and ethical issues. In addition, departments offering anthropology degrees should include and require ethical training in their curriculums.

No code or set of guidelines can anticipate unique circumstances or direct actions in specific situations. The individual anthropologist must be willing to make carefully considered ethical choices and be prepared to make clear the assumptions, facts and issues on which those choices are based. These guidelines therefore address *general* contexts, priorities and relationships which should be considered in ethical decision making in anthropological work.

III. Research

In both proposing and carrying out research, anthropological researchers must be open about the purpose(s), potential impacts, and source(s) of support for research projects with funders, colleagues, persons studied or providing information, and with relevant parties affected by the research. Researchers must expect to utilize the results of their work in an appropriate fashion and disseminate the results through appropriate and timely activities. Research fulfilling these expectations is ethical, regardless of the source of funding (public or private) or purpose (i.e., "applied," "basic," "pure," or "proprietary").

Anthropological researchers should be alert to the danger of compromising anthropological ethics as a condition to engage in research, yet also be alert to proper demands of good citizenship or host-guest relations. Active contribution and leadership in seeking to shape public or private sector actions and policies may be as ethically justifiable as inaction, detachment, or noncooperation, depending on circumstances. Similar principles hold for anthropological researchers employed or otherwise affiliated with nonanthropological institutions, public institutions, or private enterprises.

A. Responsibility to people and animals with whom anthropological researchers work and whose lives and cultures they study.

1. Anthropological researchers have primary ethical obligations to the people, species, and materials they study and to the people with whom they work. These obligations can supersede the goal of seeking new knowledge, and can lead to decisions not to undertake or to discontinue a research project when the primary obligation conflicts with other responsibilities, such as those owed to sponsors or clients. These ethical obligations include:

- To avoid harm or wrong, understanding that the development of knowledge can lead to change which may be positive or negative for the people or animals worked with or studied
- To respect the well-being of humans and nonhuman primates
- To work for the long-term conservation of the archaeological, fossil, and historical records
- To consult actively with the affected individuals or group(s), with the goal of establishing a working relationship that can be beneficial to all parties involved

2. Anthropological researchers must do everything in their power to ensure that their research does not harm the safety, dignity, or privacy of the people with whom they work, conduct research, or perform other professional activities. Anthropological researchers working with animals must do everything in their power to ensure that the research does not harm the safety, psychological well-being or survival of the animals or species with which they work.

3. Anthropological researchers must determine in advance whether their hosts/providers of information wish to remain anonymous or receive recognition, and make every effort to comply with those wishes. Researchers must present to their research participants the possible impacts of the choices, and make clear that despite their best efforts, anonymity may be compromised or recognition fail to materialize.

4. Anthropological researchers should obtain in advance the informed consent of persons being studied, providing information, owning or controlling access to

material being studied, or otherwise identified as having interests which might be impacted by the research. It is understood that the degree and breadth of informed consent required will depend on the nature of the project and may be affected by requirements of other codes, laws, and ethics of the country or community in which the research is pursued. Further, it is understood that the informed consent process is dynamic and continuous; the process should be initiated in the project design and continue through implementation by way of dialogue and negotiation with those studied. Researchers are responsible for identifying and complying with the various informed consent codes, laws and regulations affecting their projects. Informed consent, for the purposes of this code, does not necessarily imply or require a particular written or signed form. It is the quality of the consent, not the format, that is relevant.

5. Anthropological researchers who have developed close and enduring relationships (i.e., covenantal relationships) with either individual persons providing information or with hosts must adhere to the obligations of openness and informed consent, while carefully and respectfully negotiating the limits of the relationship.

6. While anthropologists may gain personally from their work, they must not exploit individuals, groups, animals, or cultural or biological materials. They should recognize their debt to the societies in which they work and their obligation to reciprocate with people studied in appropriate ways.

B. Responsibility to scholarship and science

1. Anthropological researchers must expect to encounter ethical dilemmas at every stage of their work, and must make good-faith efforts to identify potential ethical claims and conflicts in advance when preparing proposals and as projects proceed. A section raising and responding to potential ethical issues should be part of every research proposal.

2. Anthropological researchers bear responsibility for the integrity and reputation of their discipline, of scholarship, and of science. Thus, anthropological researchers are subject to the general moral rules of scientific and scholarly conduct: they should not deceive or knowingly misrepresent (i.e., fabricate evidence, falsify, plagiarize), or attempt to prevent reporting of misconduct, or obstruct the scientific/scholarly research of others.

3. Anthropological researchers should do all they can to preserve opportunities for future fieldworkers to follow them to the field.

4. Anthropological researchers should utilize the results of their work in an appropriate fashion, and whenever possible disseminate their findings to the scientific and scholarly community.

5. Anthropological researchers should seriously consider all reasonable requests for access to their data and other research materials for purposes of research. They should also make every effort to insure preservation of their fieldwork data for use by posterity.

C. Responsibility to the public

1. Anthropological researchers should make the results of their research appropriately available to sponsors, students, decision makers, and other nonanthropologists. In so doing, they must be truthful; they are not only responsible for the factual content of their statements but also must consider carefully the social and political implications of the information they disseminate. They must do everything in their power to insure that such information is well understood, properly contextualized, and responsibly utilized. They should make clear the empirical bases upon which their reports stand, be candid about their qualifications and philosophical or political biases, and recognize and make clear the limits of anthropological expertise. At the same time, they must be alert to possible harm their information may cause people with whom they work or colleagues.

2. Anthropologists may choose to move beyond disseminating research results to a position of advocacy. This is an individual decision, but not an ethical responsibility.

IV. Teaching

Responsibility to students and trainees

While adhering to ethical and legal codes governing relations between teachers/mentors and students/trainees at their educational institutions or as members of wider organizations, anthropological teachers should be particularly sensitive to the ways such codes apply in their discipline (for example, when teaching involves close contact with students/trainees in field situations). Among the widely recognized precepts which anthropological teachers, like other teachers/mentors, should follow are:

1. Teachers/mentors should conduct their programs in ways that preclude discrimination on the basis of sex, marital status, "race," social class, political convictions, disability, religion, ethnic background, national origin, sexual orientation, age, or other criteria irrelevant to academic performance.

2. Teachers'/mentors' duties include continually striving to improve their teaching/training techniques; being available and responsive to student/trainee interests; counseling students/ trainees realistically regarding career opportunities; conscientiously supervising, encouraging, and supporting students'/trainees' studies; being fair, prompt, and reliable in communicating evaluations; assisting

students/trainees in securing research support; and helping students/trainees when they seek professional placement.

3. Teachers/mentors should impress upon students/trainees the ethical challenges involved in every phase of anthropological work; encourage them to reflect upon this and other codes; encourage dialogue with colleagues on ethical issues; and discourage participation in ethically questionable projects.

4. Teachers/mentors should publicly acknowledge student/trainee assistance in research and preparation of their work; give appropriate credit for coauthorship to students/trainees; encourage publication of worthy student/trainee papers; and compensate students/trainees justly for their participation in all professional activities.

5. Teachers/mentors should beware of the exploitation and serious conflicts of interest which may result if they engage in sexual relations with students/trainees. They must avoid sexual liaisons with students/trainees for whose education and professional training they are in any way responsible.

V. Application

1. The same ethical guidelines apply to all anthropological work. That is, in both proposing and carrying out research, anthropologists must be open with funders, colleagues, persons studied or providing information, and relevant parties affected by the work about the purpose(s), potential impacts, and source(s) of support for the work. Applied anthropologists must intend and expect to utilize the results of their work appropriately (i.e., publication, teaching, program and policy development) within a reasonable time. In situations in which anthropological knowledge is applied, anthropologists bear the same responsibility to be open and candid about their skills and intentions, and monitor the effects of their work on all persons affected. Anthropologists may be involved in many types of work, frequently affecting individuals and groups with diverse and sometimes conflicting interests. The individual anthropologist must make carefully considered ethical choices and be prepared to make clear the assumptions, facts and issues on which those choices are based.

2. In all dealings with employers, persons hired to pursue anthropological research or apply anthropological knowledge should be honest about their qualifications, capabilities, and aims. Prior to making any professional commitments, they must review the purposes of prospective employers, taking into consideration the employer's past activities and future goals. In working for governmental agencies or private businesses, they should be especially careful not to promise or imply acceptance of conditions contrary to professional ethics or competing commitments.

3. Applied anthropologists, as any anthropologist, should be alert to the danger of compromising anthropological ethics as a condition for engaging in research or practice. They should also be alert to proper demands of hospitality, good citizenship and guest status. Proactive contribution and leadership in shaping public or private sector actions and policies may be as ethically justifiable as inaction, detachment, or noncooperation, depending on circumstances.

VI. Epilogue

Anthropological research, teaching, and application, like any human actions, pose choices for which anthropologists individually and collectively bear ethical responsibility. Since anthropologists are members of a variety of groups and subject to a variety of ethical codes, choices must sometimes be made not only between the varied obligations presented in this code but also between those of this code and those incurred in other statuses or roles. This statement does not dictate choice or propose sanctions. Rather, it is designed to promote discussion and provide general guidelines for ethically responsible decisions.

VII. Acknowledgments

This Code was drafted by the Commission to Review the AAA Statements on Ethics during the period January 1995-March 1997. The Commission members were James Peacock (Chair), Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban, Barbara Frankel, Kathleen Gibson, Janet Levy, and Murray Wax. In addition, the following individuals participated in the Commission meetings: philosopher Bernard Gert, anthropologists Cathleen Crain, Shirley Fiske, David Freyer, Felix Moos, Yolanda Moses, and Niel Tashima; and members of the American Sociological Association Committee on Ethics. Open hearings on the Code were held at the 1995 and 1996 annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association. The Commission solicited comments from all AAA Sections. The first draft of the AAA Code of Ethics was discussed at the May 1995 AAA Section Assembly meeting; the second draft was briefly discussed at the November 1996 meeting of the AAA Section Assembly.

The Final Report of the Commission was published in the September 1995 edition of the *Anthropology Newsletter* and on the AAA web site (http://www.aaanet.org). Drafts of the Code were published in the April 1996 and 1996 annual meeting edition of the *Anthropology Newsletter* and the AAA web site, and comments were solicited from the membership. The Commission considered all comments from the membership in formulating the final draft in February 1997. The Commission gratefully acknowledge the use of some language from the codes of ethics of the National Association for the Practice of Anthropology and the Society for American Archaeology.

Appendix 4

Register of Professional Archaeologists Code of Conduct

Code of Conduct and Standards of Research Performance

Code of Conduct

Archaeology is a profession, and the privilege of professional practice requires professional morality and professional responsibility, as well as professional competence, on the part of each practitioner.

I. The Archaeologist's Responsibility to the Public

1.1 An archaeologist shall:

a. Recognize a commitment to represent Archaeology and its research results to the public in a responsible manner;
b. Actively support conservation of the archaeological resource base;
c. Be sensitive to, and respect the legitimate concerns of, groups whose culture histories are the subjects of archaeological investigations;
d. Avoid and discourage exaggerated, misleading, or unwarranted statements about archaeological matters that might induce others to engage in unethical or illegal activity;
e. Support and comply with the terms of the UNESCO Convention on the means of prohibiting and preventing the illicit import, export, and transfer of ownership of cultural property, as adopted by the General Conference, 14 November 1970, Paris.

1.2 An archaeologist shall not:

f. Engage in any illegal or unethical conduct involving archaeological matters or knowingly permit the use of his/her name in support of any illegal or unethical activity involving archaeological matters;
g. Give a professional opinion, make a public report, or give legal testimony involving archaeological matters without being as thoroughly informed as might reasonably be expected;
h. Engage in conduct involving dishonesty, fraud, deceit or misrepresentation about archaeological matters;
i. Undertake any research that affects the archaeological resource base for which she/he is not qualified.

II. The Archaeologist's Responsibility to Colleagues, Employees, and Students

2.1 An archaeologist shall:

a. Give appropriate credit for work done by others;
b. Stay informed and knowledgeable about developments in her/his field or fields of specialization;
c. Accurately, and without undue delay, prepare and properly disseminate a description of research done and its results;
d. Communicate and cooperate with colleagues having common professional interests;
e. Give due respect to colleagues' interests in, and rights to, information about sites, areas, collections, or data where there is a mutual active or potentially active research concern;
f. Know and comply with all federal, state, and local laws, ordinances, and regulations applicable to her/his archaeological research and activities;
g. Report knowledge of violations of this Code to proper authorities.
h. Honor and comply with the spirit and letter of the Register of Professional Archaeologist's Disciplinary Procedures.

2.2 An archaeologist shall not:

i. Falsely or maliciously attempt to injure the reputation of another archaeologist;
j. Commit plagiarism in oral or written communication;
k. Undertake research that affects the archaeological resource base unless reasonably prompt, appropriate analysis and reporting can be expected;
l. Refuse a reasonable request from a qualified colleague for research data;
m. Submit a false or misleading application for registration by the Register of Professional Archaeologists.

III. The Archaeologist's Responsibility to Employers and Clients

3.1 An archaeologist shall:

a. Respect the interests of her/his employer or client, so far as is consistent with the public welfare and this Code and Standards;
b. Refuse to comply with any request or demand of an employer or client which conflicts with the Code and Standards;
c. Recommend to employers or clients the employment of other archaeologists or other expert consultants upon encountering archaeological problems beyond her/his own competence;
d. Exercise reasonable care to prevent her/his employees, colleagues, associates and others whose services are utilized by her/him from

revealing or using confidential information. Confidential information means information of a non-archaeological nature gained in the course of employment which the employer or client has requested be held inviolate, or the disclosure of which would be embarrassing or would be likely to be detrimental to the employer or client. Information ceases to be confidential when the employer or client so indicates or when such information becomes publicly known.

3.2 An archaeologist shall not:

e. Reveal confidential information, unless required by law;
f. Use confidential information to the disadvantage of the client or employer;
g. Use confidential information for the advantage of herself/himself or a third person, unless the client consents after full disclosure;
h. Accept compensation or anything of value for recommending the employment of another archaeologist or other person, unless such compensation or thing of value is fully disclosed to the potential employer or client;
i. Recommend or participate in any research which does not comply with the requirements of the Standards of Research Performance.

Standards of Research Performance

The research archaeologist has a responsibility to attempt to design and conduct projects that will add to our understanding of past cultures and/or that will develop better theories, methods, or techniques for interpreting the archaeological record, while causing minimal attrition of the archaeological resource base. In the conduct of a research project, the following minimum standards should be followed:

I. The archaeologist has a responsibility to prepare adequately for any research project, whether or not in the field. The archaeologist must:

1.1 Assess the adequacy of her/his qualifications for the demands of the project, and minimize inadequacies by acquiring additional expertise, by bringing in associates with the needed qualifications, or by modifying the scope of the project;

1.2 Inform herself/himself of relevant previous research;

1.3 Develop a scientific plan of research which specifies the objectives of the project, takes into account previous relevant research, employs a suitable methodology, and provides for economical use of the resource base (whether such base consists of an excavation

site or of specimens) consistent with the objectives of the project;

1.4 Ensure the availability of adequate and competent staff and support facilities to carry the project to completion, and of adequate curatorial facilities for specimens and records;

1.5 Comply with all legal requirements, including, without limitation, obtaining all necessary governmental permits and necessary permission from landowners or other persons;

1.6 Determine whether the project is likely to interfere with the program or projects of other scholars and, if there is such a likelihood, initiate negotiations to minimize such interference.

II. In conducting research, the archaeologist must follow her/his scientific plan of research, except to the extent that unforeseen circumstances warrant its modification.

III. Procedures for field survey or excavation must meet the following minimal standards:

3.1 If specimens are collected, a system for identifying and recording their proveniences must be maintained.

3.2 Uncollected entities such as environmental or cultural features, depositional strata, and the like, must be fully and accurately recorded by appropriate means, and their location recorded.

3.3 The methods employed in data collection must be fully and accurately described. Significant stratigraphic and/or associational relationships among artifacts, other specimens, and cultural and environmental features must also be fully and accurately recorded.

3.4 All records should be intelligible to other archaeologists. If terms lacking commonly held referents are used, they should be clearly defined.

3.5 Insofar as possible, the interests of other researchers should be considered. For example, upper levels of a site should be scientifically excavated and recorded whenever feasible, even if the focus of the project is on underlying levels.

IV. During accessioning, analysis, and storage of specimens and records in the laboratory, the archaeologist must take precautions to ensure that correlations between the specimens and the field records are maintained, so that provenience contextual relationships and the like are not confused or obscured.

V. Specimens and research records resulting from a project must be deposited at an institution with permanent curatorial facilities, unless otherwise required by law.

VI. The archaeologist has responsibility for appropriate dissemination of the results of her/his research to the appropriate constituencies with reasonable dispatch.

6.1 Results reviewed as significant contributions to substantive knowledge of the past or to advancements in theory, method or technique should be disseminated to colleagues and other interested persons by appropriate means such as publications, reports at professional meetings, or letters to colleagues.

6.2 Requests from qualified colleagues for information on research results directly should be honored, if consistent with the researcher's prior rights to publication and with her/his other professional responsibilities.

6.3 Failure to complete a full scholarly report within 10 years after completion of a field project shall be construed as a waiver of an archaeologist's right of primacy with respect to analysis and publication of the data. Upon expiration of such 10-year period, or at such earlier time as the archaeologist shall determine not to publish the results, such data should be made fully accessible to other archaeologists for analysis and publication.

6.4 While contractual obligations in reporting must be respected, archaeologists should not enter into a contract which prohibits the archaeologist from including her or his own interpretations or conclusions in the contractual reports, or from a continuing right to use the data after completion of the project.

6.5 Archaeologists have an obligation to accede to reasonable requests for information from the news media.

Appendix 5

Methodology

My investigation of community archaeology in highland Guatemala was the synthesis of archaeology and anthropology. As an archaeologist I was able to understand the artifacts, ancient structures and excavation. As an ethnographer I could examine the living communities understanding sentiments about the artifacts and excavation. It was the quintessence of "American archaeology is anthropology or it is nothing" (1958:2) that Willey and Phillips called for. They believed that the goals of archaeology are the goals of anthropology, where we must account for the living and the past societies in attempting to answer questions about humans and human society. Yet, in order to understand these questions for the two case studies in Tecpan and Chocolá and the multiple interviews, a specific method to remember, record, interview, and analyze was mandatory.

The work in Tecpan and Chocolá was produced primarily from participant observation and interviews. An important goal of fieldwork was to demonstrate my novice understanding of their culture and that I truly wanted to learn from them. Equally important was to return results, pictures, histories, ideas and a methodology of communicating with archaeologists. The final goal in presenting this work and methodology is to bring the reader into the field. Research was conducted in Tecpan, Chimaltenango and surrounding regions to investigate the use of archaeological sites and artifacts as sacred localities by living Maya from December 31, 2003 to January 14, 2004 and in June 2004. Research for community archaeology began in Chocolá,

Suchitepequez, in May and June of 2004 continued June-August 2005 and summer of 2006. The primary focus for both locations was the trust relationship between the researcher and the community as well as a collaboration of ideas and methods.

The most important aspect of my research were field notes. I found myself in many new locations soaking up the surroundings and mentally recording the smells, sounds, and images. Field notes were diligently kept; of course there were some days when the power was out and writing by candle light grew too tiresome, or other nights when we sat up late talking in the kitchen. At those times I wrote the next day finding it twice as hard to fit two days worth of writing into one. Yet, field notes had to be maintained to keep track of my initial reactions and experiences.

Page after page filled with smells, feels, sounds, and reflections now serve as the basis for this thesis. Field notes represent my voice as the researcher, as a person who has been there (Bernard 2006: 344, Stone Sunstein and Chiseri-Strater 2002:46). Understanding the human condition in Guatemala came first through the context of broader scholarship. Ethnographies and cultural accounts by Robert Carmack (1995, 1981, 1973), Barbara Tedlock (1992), Kay Warren (1998), Edward Fisher (1996, 2003), and R. McKenna Brown (1996) as well as important cultural texts such as *Popul Vuh* (Tedlock, D 1996) and *Los Annales de Los Caqchikeles*(1934), initiated my experience and creating my informed observations.

Field notes, although important, are based in a synergistic relationship with participant observation. I was not an objective observer writing down reactions. I was directly involved: talking, sharing, hugging, and living with and among the people I

was studying. I was not only a researcher from the United States, but over time I was introduced as a friend in Kaqchikel, K'iche' or Spanish. It is this relationship, the action of establishing rapport with the people that is the critical element of success in ethnography. Of course becoming friends with whom I am researching increased my emotional connection and my bias for certain aspects. It is important to understand that many of my perceptions are based on a close relationship with the community and with the archaeologists. At all times, an ethnographer wishes to reduce bias through more interviews, attempting to remove emotions, and reflexively focusing the same questions back on myself.

Participant observation, including the detailed field notes, are the foundation for my research. In Tecpan, we shared dinner, adventures, Thursday morning markets, Sunday afternoon mass and the traditional Saturday Maya sauna or *tuj* or *temescal* (Fischer and Hendrickson 2003:10). Yet, there is a line between being a participant observer and finally feeling accepted as a member of the group, a line between researcher and friend, a line of being trusted and provided with truthful answers. That day the line was crossed for me in Tecpan with Pakal Balam and his family was Saturday evening in early January 2004 (Pakal Balam in Fischer and Hendrickson 2003:10). Pakal explained that every Saturday evening many Maya people have a sauna and wanted to know if my friend, Lindsay, a student from Latin American Studies, and I at the University of Kansas would join. Honored and somewhat nervous we answered yes and discussed all day what this Maya sauna would be. After dinner, I sat in my room writing field notes, when Pakal full of panic

yelled my name across the house loudly and asked me in English to hurry! I quickly ran out the door (this was not a Spanish or Kaqchikel lesson this was an emergency) into the courtyard of the home and ran to Pakal. He explained that his mother was overheating in the sauna and we had to get her out. As she could not use her legs and spent full time in a wheelchair, we both grabbed the blanket she was resting on and pulled, lifted, and maneuvered her out of the small sauna opening as Pakal's wife, Ixchel arrived and held up the heavy blanket that served as the sauna door. Dona Juana smiled at me as we carried her to her room and placed her in bed, she lightly patted my hand in thanks and I left the room as Pakal and Ixchel attended to her. These opportunities are critical for observation as well as building trust and creating understanding.

Participant observation is the heart of anthropological research. It necessitates a close relationship through building rapport. This strategic method puts the researcher in the action to collect data (Bernard 2006: 343-344). Bernard (2006) explains that participant observation opens the door to collecting the life stories, folktales, pictures and experiencing the lives of the people but it requires immersing oneself in this new culture as well as removing oneself from the immersion (343). A researcher must be able to "intellectualize what you've seen and heard, put it into perspective, and write about it convincingly" (Bernard 2006:343). The validity that comes with participant observation is the trust that builds over time; "presence builds trust. Trust lowers reactivity which means higher validity of data" (Bernard 2006: 354). In this context, reactivity is important to understand. It explains the initial

reaction the local people have to my presence. Usually, most locals react in a somewhat closed and reserved manner in order to protect themselves from outsiders. However, my goal was to lower that reactivity; where the people would let their guard down. For the first five weeks, in Chocolá I never even attempted a formal interview, but talked after a long day in the field. I helped bring in the equipment from the field, relaxed in the shadows of the trees, played on the soccer team and engaged in daily life. Quickly, things change; I was not the *Gringa* with blue eyes but Ana, a friend and a team member. Yet, I also realize I am an entity that possesses a certain power or perceived wealth due to my skin color and nationality, not to mention my gender. However, my skin color and gender also gave me perceived weaknesses; such as being delicate, not being strong enough or having strong enough skin to work in the field, being a woman and therefore not having the knowledge or power to manage many things or even talk in public at times. Even facing these constraints or benefits, I noticed a change in the way I was received and treated, no longer a complete outsider, but someone invited and welcomed to do many of the same activities the locals do.

One of the keys to becoming part of the community is to know the language (Spradley 1979:11). During my first visit to Tecpan, my Spanish was weak and I was so nervous to use it that Pakal often acted as an interpreter. Upon my return to Guatemala and subsequent visits to Chocolá and Tecpan, I was not fluent but was not scared to be wrong I wanted to try and wanted to learn. Although, I was not fluent in Spanish, upon my first visit to Chocolá I knew enough to interview and have daily

discussions, but always upon first talking with people I made them aware of my low Spanish ability and usually, through laughing and at times hand signals, we were off to the local store for a coke and even more talking.

A serious difficulty during my first summer at Chocolá was not only fitting in with the town but also the college students from Guatemala City. The seven students (three female) who stayed for a month to do their practicum in archaeology were somewhat of a challenge because they were so similar to me, but in so many ways even more different then the towns people of Chocolá. A few of the college students spoke English, but most spoke only Spanish, and since I was the only native English speaker when were together, Spanish was the language of interaction. They talked so fast! Rapidly firing jokes and stories I could hardly follow anything. Their words seemed even more foreign than Kaqchikel- for they were speaking the Spanish slang of young adults. However, I soon noticed that my friend Tony (a Guatemalan student who spoke average English) could not understand my slang with an American volunteer of my same age. As Tony and I walked from the laboratory and onto the porch, the American student had just come in from the field and I said: “hey was up? You grabbin’ a bite to eat now or showering and then having some?” The American student replied, “good, yeah a bite now sounds good, but I’m dirty, I’ll catch you in a few”. Tony turned to me and asked what we had said. I smiled and said “Tony, we have to talk”. That night the Guatemalan students and I sat in the women’s bunk house into the wee hours learning Spanish and English slang, curse words, and popular comebacks. We decorated the house in bilingual post it notes. My eyes were

opened, not only was I trying to learn Spanish, Kaqchikel and K'iche, but the language of the Guatemalan youth. After that night everything between the students and I was "*ta ueno*" or "*esta bueno*", or "it's all good."

Although I was talking with Guatemalan youths about language and culture, the experience brought me right back to my ethnographic work with "The Other Side of Middletown" (2004). The Middletown project opened me up to a variety of new encounters such as; being a minority, openly discussing issues of racism, and how to communicate. Multiple times, I would ask my African American partner Ashley Moore to translate what an interviewee had said. Even though they spoke English, their slang was unintelligible to me. Similarly, Ashley would ask me why White people acted a certain way or said certain things. Even though we were both college students from the Midwest with similar backgrounds, we had to translate our cultures for each other. Sitting on a folding cot that night in rural Guatemala, the world shrank.

Methodology in the Field

The research began in Kansas with Pakal Balam, my Kaqchikel professor; we discussed archaeology sites, their use and the local understanding of archaeology by the Kaqchikel. Pakal and I worked together to create a plan of visiting highland archaeology sites, local altars and Maya ajq'ij (priests, literally Day Keepers), this information was used to author the Tinker Grant which funded the first trip to Guatemala.

In Tecpan, the predominant research methods were participant observation and individual interviews, where Pakal served as my main informant. Pakal and I first created interview questions for structured interviews with Maya ajq'ij (Maya priest). Structured interviews were chosen due to the small amount of time I would be in the area and because the interviewees knew, respected, and trusted Pakal (Bernard 2006: 212). The interviews were conducted by Pakal Balam who served as translator and myself. In two weeks we were able to visit the three archaeology sites of Iximche, Utatlan, and Mixco Viejo, two local altars; kaq jay and xe ko'hil.

Pakal was the key to entering many homes in Tecpan since he is viewed as a town leader and is highly respected. Having all the introductions in Kaqchikel helped to smooth over any problems as the people I visited and interviewed realized I had already invested time and effort to learn about them. The interviews were comprised of myself asking questions and at times, when I faltered, Pakal helping me with translations and question asking. Also at times he wanted to ask his own questions, which we had agreed on earlier. Pakal also had a deep interest in the archaeology and history of his people and area. Overall, the work in Tecpan served as a comparison and starting point. There were not any current archaeological excavations happening in the region, but large archeological parks run by the Guatemalan government, where many Maya went to pray, celebrate holidays and visit.

In Chocolá, Suchitepequez, I focused on trust; this required building my own rapport with the community and critically examining the relationship between the researchers (myself included) and the community. Second, I wanted to investigate the

involvement of the community within the project. Third, I sought to understand the complex and dynamic sentiments about the project by community members and identify change in sentiment over time. Fourth, I wanted to know if the project worked under the conditions of community archaeology. Finally, I wanted to understand the effects the project and foreigners had upon the community.

To perform this work, the following research methods were applied: participant observation, individual interviews and community forums. Participant observation provides the necessary understanding of community, family, and individual interaction among the Chocolá residents themselves, and among the researchers**,** as well as the environment (Bernard 2006:344, Lassiter 2002). Informal, unstructured and semi-structured individual interviews with local community leaders, archaeological excavators, store owners, men and women identified the key issues, cultural perceptions, personal feelings, and overall concerns about the archaeological project, changes in the community, future of tourism, education, sustainability, and overall individual sentiments (Bernard 2006:211-213). I relied primarily on semi-structured and unstructured interviewing. The semi-structured interviews were used often after informal and unstructured interviewing had been completed. The informal interview is used well in the beginning of research. It is a "total lack of structure of control" where the researcher does their best to remember conversations (Bernard 2006: 211). The unstructured interview usually occurred after talking with one person for awhile and then we decided to sit and have a long conversation where I have a goal in mind to gain specific information, but know if needed I can find them again

and ask them more information (Bernard 2006: 212). Yet at the same time the unstructured interview is a dynamic way of accessing the lived experience and building initial rapport. (Bernard 2006:213). Lastly, semi-structured and structured interviews were utilized in Chocolá as they were in Tecpan. I wanted to understand specific aspects and maintained a question outline to ask each interviewee (Bernard 2006:212).

Community forums were essential as an opportunity for feedback, education, public awareness and group sentiments. Held in the large community hall, they allowed the archaeology project to inform the community about the archaeology, enabled the community to ask questions, raise concerns, and most importantly demonstrated the initiative of the archaeology project to collaborate with the community. The community forums are used by and for the community for many of their own problems and politics. It is important for the archaeology project to adapt to the methods already put in place by the community for dispersing information. Yet, these community forums were also opportunities for me to understand the community as a whole and how they interacted with each other and the archaeology project. Due to the initial successes of PACH, strong relationships with local town leaders and the community of Chocolá had already been cultivated. This made a fairly easy transition to talking with local leaders, archaeology project employees and people not involved with the archaeology project.

Overall, I had twelve formal interviews and many informal interviews over the two summers, usually asking the same or similar questions during each interview.

The questions followed a pattern of identifying how people either became involved with the PACH project or heard about the project, their opinion of the project, what they believed the community thought about the project, were they interested in the archaeology, was it important to employ local residents for the positions, what were the possibilities for the future with the project, was archaeology important, was it important to share findings with the community, how should this be done. I usually asked questions relating to culture, such as did they speak K'iche' or another language, what they thought about the loss of these languages and traje, if they knew about Maya spirituality. The formal interviews were tape-recorded while others were captured in my mind and by my pen. Investigating the nature of the project among those employed by the project was difficult, as they may not be likely to speak ill of the project however, through rapport building and two seasons of interviews, trends emerged demonstrating an overall accuracy of sentiment in the interviews.

At all times in Tecpan and Chocolá the people I interviewed were informed of their rights to choose to participate in the interview and could choose to not have it recorded. Most everyone that I interviewed was willing and eager to share their opinions. All research was approved by the Human Subjects Committee at the University of Kansas and most names are the same unless someone preferred to have it changed in order to protect their story or information.

Appendix 6
Collaborative Archaeology Checklist

Preparation and Background

- Multidisciplinary Team
- Understanding the Region
- Ethnographic Training for Archaeologists
- Language and Communication
- Permits and Approval
    - National
    - State
    - Local
    - Religious
- Introduction to the Community

Ethics

- Archaeological Record
- Diverse Populations
- Colleagues, Students, and Employees
- Adopting a Code of ethics or set of Standards

Building Relationships

- Rapport
- Local Government
- Multiple Communities
    - Local community leaders, not part of the government.
- Long Term commitment
    - How to contact archaeologists
    - Responsibility to the community

Permission

- National
- State
- Local
- Family

Employment

- Local
- Hiring
- Payment

Explanation to the community

- Community Forums
- Decision Making. At each step the community must have a voice in the decisions.
- Classes
- Tours

- Cultural Patrimony
    - Laws
- Protection
- Changes that could occur due to protection

Community Involvement

- Employment
- Local history, Oral history
- Cultural Patrimony Rights
- Interpretation
- Documentation
- Museums
- Development Projects

Collection of Materials

- Collection from field
- Storage
- Cleaning and Care
- Analysis
- Long term Storage and Processing
- Museum
- Reburial

Documentation

- National and State
- Diverse Populations, Public
- Academic Colleagues, Students, and Employees
- Local

Development Projects

- Will the project have them?
- What type?
- Promise reality.
- Legality, a non-profit organization.

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